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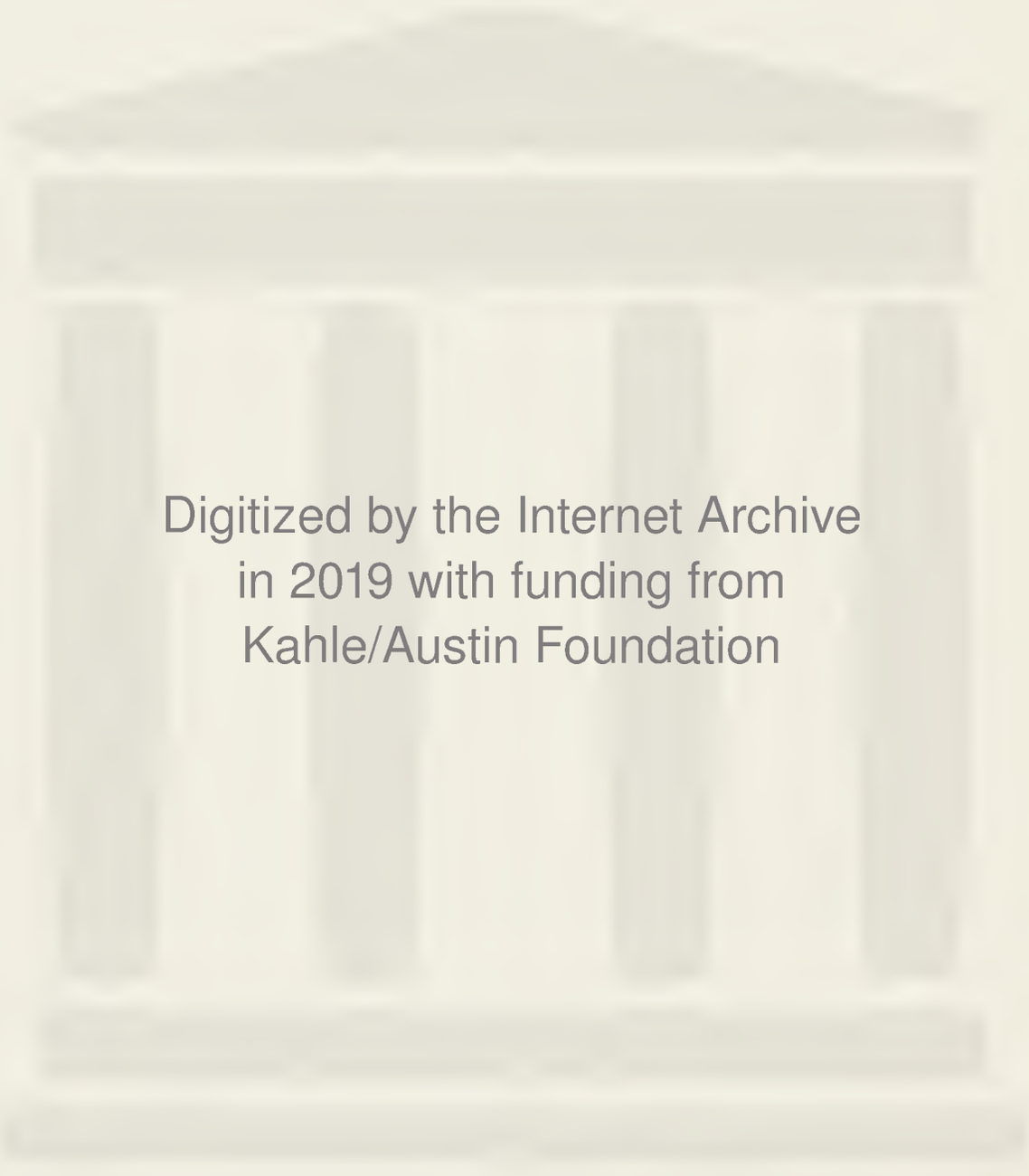

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Ekilané, Yuchi Chief and Dance Leader.

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VOL. I NO. 2

CEREMONIAL SONGS OF THE CREEK AND YUCHI INDIANS

BY

FRANK G. SPECK

WITH MUSIC TRANSCRIBED BY
JACOB D. SAPIR

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INTRODUCTION

The investigations described in the introduction to the first part of this volume included the work of collecting dance and medicine songs. The greater part of these came from the Creeks of Taskigi town, one of the tribal subdivisions of the Creek Nation. A smaller number of songs were obtained from the Yuchi.

Frequent reference will be made in the following pages to the account of the Yuchi in Part I of this volume. Reference will also be made to an account of the Creeks by the author, published in the Memoirs of the American Anthropological Association, Vol. 2, No. 2. The last named paper will be designated M. A. A. A.

The Creek songs were all sung by *Kabítcimála*, "Raccoon Leader" (the late Laslie Cloud), a prominent leader and shaman; the Yuchi songs by *Fago^{ɛ}o^{n}wī'* "Comes out of the thicket," *Kūba* "Creek Indian," *Ekīlané* "It has left me," and Jim Tiger. A few Shawnee love songs, obtained incidentally from Charley Wilson, who belongs to the small band of Shawnees who consort with the Yuchi, have been included. The songs were all recorded on the phonograph, the syllables and texts being taken down independently with accompanying explanations at the time when they were sung.

Mr. Jacob D. Sapir is responsible for the transcriptions. The phonograph records are the property of the American Museum of Natural History, New York. No attempt is made to discuss the internal qualities or comparative characteristics of the music itself, our purpose being merely to assemble the material for someone else to study. The transcriber, however, from considerable acquaintance with them, feels that the Creek songs possess a strength and energy that is lacking in the Yuchi songs, while the latter are more harmonious to the European ear. The descriptions of many of the dances are based upon observation, the informants' data supplying the rest. These dance songs may be regarded as fairly complete for Taskigi town because Laslie Cloud was considered to be the best informed dance leader in the settlement. The same

may be said for the medicine songs and formulas, so far as one shaman is concerned, as they are secret individual property.

The sounds in Creek are represented by the following characters. Surd *tc*, like "ch" in English "church," and sonant *dj*, lingual alveolars, *dj* represents a sound about midway in position between English dz and dj; *b* is indeterminate between surd p and sonant b; *d* is also of the same indefinite nature and produced as an alveolar dental; *l* is a soft palatalized spirant surd; *g* a palatal sonant; *q* a velar surd; *g*. the corresponding sonant; *f* a normal labial dental surd; *c* like English sh; *l*, *m*, *n*, *s*, *k* are also like the English. Semi-vowels are *h*, *w*, *y*. Prolonged consonants are written doubled; *kk*, *tt*. Vowels ā, ē, ī, ō, ū are long, the unmarked short; *au*, *oi* diphthongs; ʌ is open and obscure like English "u" in "but;" *â* like "a" in English "all;" *ă* long and open like "a" in English "fare" without the "r" tinge; ⁿ denotes nasalization; ʿaspiration; ˢ a glottal catch; ʹaccent, and ˙, or ! lengthening of the vowel.

CREEK DANCE SONGS

The Creeks always hold their dances on what they call *djógo łákko* "house big," which refers to the town square, where formerly they had a large dance house. In later years, however, the dance house was abandoned and the open square ground with its four lodges or arbors now remains. The square-ground is a plot of smoothly scraped ground one hundred and fifty feet or so on each side. On each margin a few feet in is an arbor consisting of a roof of branches supported upon upright crotches with logs on the ground for seats. In each of the Creek towns the size of the arbors and details of structure differ. The square-ground is so situated that its sides face the points of the compass. This spot is the center of town life. The annual religious ceremonies, meetings and councils are held on it, each of the lodges being for people of different ranks and clans. A description and diagram of Taskigi town square, with which these ceremonies are concerned, has been given in M.A.A.A.,pp. 111-116. The dances invariably take place in the night-time, the dance ground being illuminated by a large fire which is kept burning near its center. Almost without exception the dancers circle about this fire contra-clockwise, the leader with his hand rattle at the head of a line of dancers comprising first men, then women, and lastly children who are learning. A drum beaten by a man, or perhaps two, in one of the lodges, usually the west, accompanies many of the performances. The steps employed are rather simple; each foot is alternately stamped, the whole dance being little more than a stamping shuffling trot with the body somewhat bent forward and the arm nearest the fire raised level with the head. The dancers vary this common posture with attempts to imitate the animal or object named in the dance according to their fancy. With the women, however, it is different. They reduce their movements to the minimum, merely shuffling along with their arms hanging at the side, without even singing. A dance is begun by the leader who starts walking around the fire alone, vibrating his rattle. As soon as he is joined by one or two comrades he begins the introduction to his song by shouting *yó hyo* and other syllables (see Crazy Dance No. 20. p. 190), which are repeated by the others. As soon as a sufficient number have joined in the leader starts with the song proper. The leader, who is either self-appointed or invited to lead by a chief, may choose whatever song he wishes, though of course he generally is expected to give a different one each time. For the purpose of teaching someone else the leading part he often takes a young man with him who is to try and follow, learning his part by heart.

No mnemonic records or tallies seem to have been known. The dances, as will be seen, embrace a number of independent songs between each of which the leader and chorus whoop and sometimes even break ranks to rest awhile. The repetitions indicated in the transcriptions are generally accidental, as the singer was limited often by the size of the phonograph cylinder. The number of repetitions is optional with the leader. In the song texts the italicized parts are sung by the chorus, the leader's part being left in ordinary type. It is, however, often very difficult to divide between where the leader stops and the chorus comes in, as the tendency is to merge one part into the other, the chorus taking their syllables, as it were, out of the leader's mouth. The more animated the dance becomes the more merged and rapid are the parts. The effect of this is, on the whole, very pleasing, bordering almost on harmony.

Something requires to be said about the use of the nonsense syllables so characteristic of Creek songs as well as those of American tribes in general. The whole subject of the significance and interpretation of the ideas associated with such syllables is one which has as yet hardly been touched upon, but which manifestly deserves attention. The idea seems to have been realized, but imperfectly understood by Miss Fletcher in her study of Pawnee songs.[1] Whether emotions, more or less definite, or ideas are associated with certain meaningless syllables in the mind of the singer or the performer it is impossible to determine in the case of the Creeks. I was first led to suspect some functional significance in them from the attitude of my informant when asked whether the syllables, which I was taking down at dictation, had any meaning. In nearly every case the answer was in the negative until in giving me *he le,* which is extremely common as a chorus response, he announced that *he le* was like *íli* 'foot,' stamping at the same time to indicate dancing. It would seem as though either through an original significance, or perhaps through mere secondary folk etymology, the dancers were shouting "foot! foot!" etc., while stamping and singing in response to their leader. Another instance of what may be taken as an example of some process of association, is to be found in the Buzzard Dance (p. 180) where the syllables *su lī wa ya* occur; *sulī* meaning buzzard. In some of the songs, as will be observed, word and idea fragments appear jumbled in with nonsense syllables. It is indeed difficult to imagine definitely whether they are the remains of a disintegrated ritual or whether they are mere secondary etymologies suggested by a chance similarity in sound to actual words. The question naturally arises in this connection, whether these syllables may not have traveled from some source in a region of complex ritual, where they might have either been actually mutilated discourse, or directly associated with special religious feelings. The problem may have to

[1] "The Hako Ceremony." Twenty-second Report Bureau of American Ethnology (1903).

be approached from the same point of view as that relating to the distribution of the conventional geometrical decorative designs, as outlined by Dr. Boas. It is possible that many of the song syllables may have had a historical background like the elements of decorative art which have become diffused from the Southwest over a large portion of North America.[1] Much more material, however, is required from different tribes before a comparative study can lead to satisfactory results. The similarities in performance details between some of the Creek dances and those of the Plains tribes is also a matter of some significance.

The Creeks attribute the origin of their dances and ceremonies to their culture hero *Hīsákidamíssī*, Master of Breath, who conditioned prosperity upon their continuance. Most of the dances are propitiatory, influencing the spirits of various animals and supernatural agencies which are capable of inflicting trouble. Some, however, are totemic. In these the members of the particular clan are supposed to be the chief participants, imitating by their behavior and gestures the clan animal. It is, nevertheless, considered an honor to the totem for outsiders to join in, and this is carried on to such a degree that the dances have lost all vestiges of esoterism if they ever possessed any.

Accompaniments to the dancing are furnished by two different instruments which are shared alike by both Creeks and Yuchi as well as by other southeastern tribes such as the Cherokee and Chickasaw. One is a large drum (Creek *tamamápka*, Yuchi *dīdané*) made either of a pot containing water or a hollow tree section or bucket covered on one end with a piece of stretched hide. A smaller drum, *sapʌ'lka*, usually made of a small keg, is also used by the Creeks.[2] The hand rattle, needed in nearly every dance, (Creek *saúga*; Yuchi *tä^{n} bäné*) consists of a gourd, or more commonly nowadays a cocoanut shell, containing small white pebbles with a stick through it for a handle (Fig. 2). The common accompaniment to most of the dances with both rattle and drum is the double beat, i. e. two to the quarter. Another sort of rattle known among the southeastern tribes is one used only by women. This consists of from six to ten dried terrapin shells, with holes bored in them and pebbles inside, attached to a sheet of hide (Fig. 1, Yuchi *tsontä'*; Creek *lúdjasaúga*, "turtle rattle"). The women wear these, one tied to each leg on the outside below the knee. By a peculiar motion of the leg they produce a volume of sound from these rattles. Only one or two women wear them in a dance, their place being near the leader. A five-holed flageolet (Creek *fī''pa*, Yuchi *łokʌ^{n}'*) is also found among these tribes, but it is for playing love ditties or for amusement, having nothing to do with the dances. Samples of flageolet music have

[1]Practically the same syllables are, for instance, found in Penobscot, Malisit, and Micmac songs as in Creek and Yuchi.

[2]A small drum of this sort was used by Laslie Cloud while singing into the phonograph. Unfortunately the drumming did not reproduce. In the places where it could be heard the transcriber has noted it.

already been given.[1] The Creeks and Yuchi are extremely fond of music, fond of their dances, and take pride in executing them well, although the occasions for dancing were, when I last saw them, becoming fewer.

It should be noted, finally, that my remarks apply only to the Creeks of the Taskigi band, for I have as yet no means of knowing in how far the other settlements differ from them in details. Some few characteristics, as well as historical traditions, point to earlier affinities other than Muskogian for the Taskigi.[2]

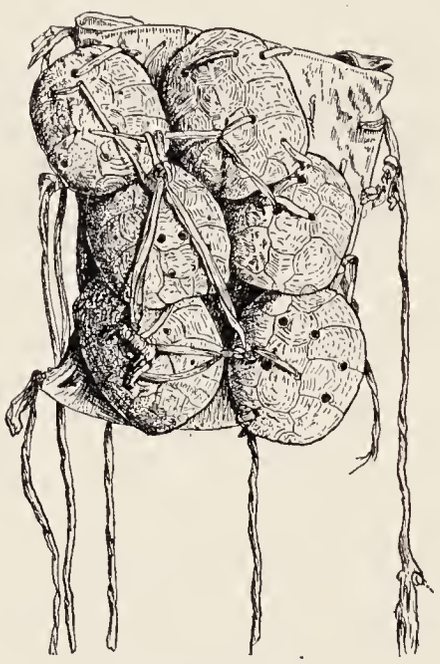


Fig. 1.—Shell Leg Rattles.

Fig. 2.—Hand Rattle.

1. łáłoba'nga. Fish Dance.

The fish, łáło, for his contribution of flesh to sustain life, is honored by a dance in which the usual movements are accompanied by drum and rattle. The leader's part could not be separated from that of the chorus in recording this song.

[1] See p. 63.

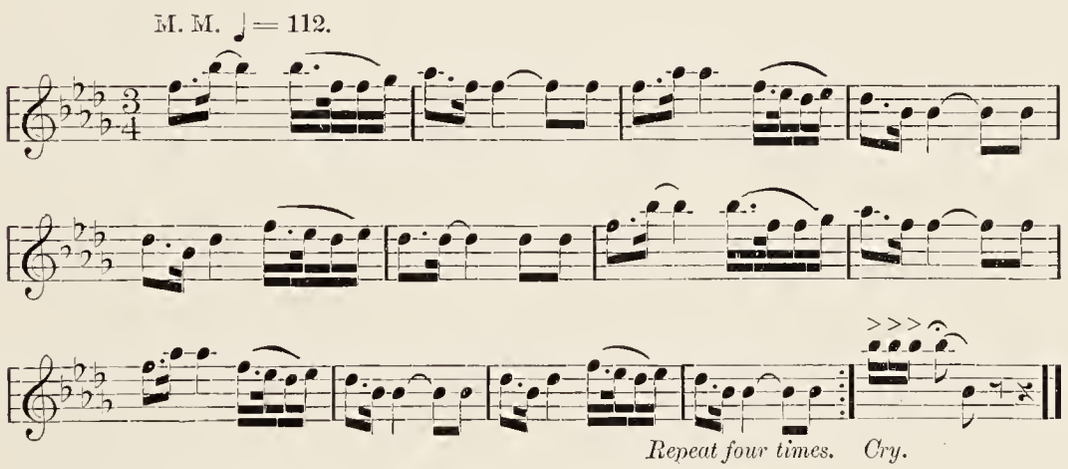
[2] The songs as taken from the records are all for male voices; when played on the piano an octave lower should be used. J. D. S.

The burden is:

(A) Introduction: ye'hye· (long cry repeated).
(B) hó ya le (ye'hye· in last bar).
(C) á hya hó^{g}o^{g}ó^{g}ho, á ye'he'
(D) yá lī ha, hī yé^{g} e he, ho hī yé^{g} e he, (ye'hye· in last bar).
(E) repeat (C).
(F) (do.)

2. IdīwíssībA'nga. Leaf Dance.

Leaves, idīwíssī 'tree hair,' for their grateful shade and other benefits are placated by a dance which in most respects is quite like the others. The leader sings the following song to the accompaniment of the hand rattle. The participants wave their arms and hands extended at their sides imitating leaves blown by the wind.



The syllables are:

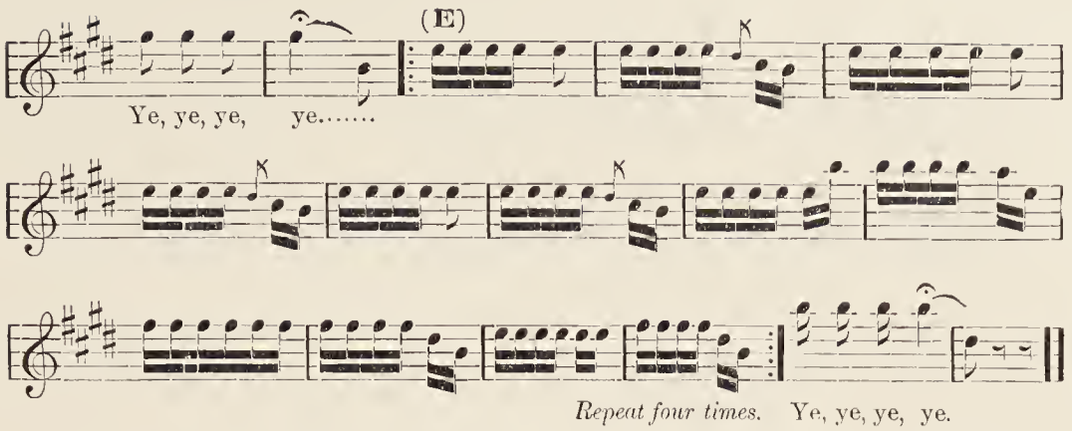
gā' hyo nē·' *he* or
hé ga^{g}hyo nē' *he ya.*

The cry hó djī gē hyá ends each fourth repetition.

3. Halpa'dabanga. Alligator Dance.

The name of Inádabanga, Lizard Dance, was also given to this song. The alligator, halpa'da, is one of the totemic animals. The performers assumed a stooping posture and wobbled. grunting at intervals.

(A) M. M. ♩. = 80.
Energetico.
(B) M. M. ♩ = 150.
Repeat twice.
Ye, ye, ye, ye....
Repeat six times.
M. M. ♩. = 80.
(C) Wild. M. M. 𝅗𝅥 = 88.
Repeat three times.
Ye, ye, ye, ye.....
(D) M. M. ♩. = 80.
Repeat twice.
Repeat four times.



The syllable burdens are quite variable, each verse ending with yells, ye ye ye, etc.

(A) yá li he ho yá^{g} lī *he ya*. (The last syllable, *ya*, is often greatly lengthened.)

(B) yā′ lī he, ho yá lī he.

(C) há lī na wé he, *yō′hä*.

(D) same as (A).

(E) hé go wī′ yä, hé go wī *yá hä* (with variations in the ending).

4. Tcófiba′nga. Rabbit Dance.

The following is a totemic honorific dance in which the participants hop like the rabbit, tcófi, to the accompaniment of the hand rattle and drum. In other respects the action is like that of the preceding dances. The song is full of cries and shouts.

The burden is:

(A) (whoops) yo hó lī nä′.
(B) yó^{e}o^{e}o^{e} hū′ (shouts).
(C) we hé há yo nä.
(D) repeat (A).
(E) repeat (B).

5. Yánasoba′nga. Buffalo Dance.

The buffalo, yánasa, which contributed much to the subsistence of these Indians was honored by the following dance in which the hand rattle and drum furnished the accompaniment. This was a highly animated performance with much heavy stamping, grunting and buffalo-like pantomine. Formerly each dancer wore the skin from the head and sometimes the back of the buffalo, with the horns attached, over his own head, the whole affair resembling the buffalo dance of the prairie tribes. In his hands each man clenched a stick.

The introduction (A) is *yo' yo oi ho'*.

(B) hé yo lé na *hé le*.

(C) repeat (A).

(D) há wa yá *hé le* and hé yo hó ē ya.

(E) repeat (A).

(F) hyá wa *hé le* and hyó le na hyó le na hī'.

(G) repeat (A).

(H) he ná yo hó.

The song ends with a cry (A) supposed to imitate the buffalo.

6. Fútcoba'nga. Duck Dance.

To recompense the duck, fútco, for his contribution toward the support of life and to keep him well disposed toward people, the following dance is performed. The participants hold hands, winding and turning behind the leader, who carries the hand rattle. The drum is also beaten for this dance.

The syllables are:

(A) hē′ ha ya lī no′.

(B) hé we wé hé ya *he ya* and
á hī ya wa hé ya

The last three bars of (B) have yákkoi hé, a high, loud cry, repeated. A cry imitating the duck's quacking, käk, käk, käk, etc., very rapidly, is given at the end and the whole is repeated as often as the leader wishes to continue the dance.

7. Dīhółkoba′nga. Steal-each-other Dance.

[Idihółkobi 'each other (reciprocal) steal'. The form Dihółhopkoba′nga, also occurs.]

In this dance men and women ranged themselves opposite one another on the dance ground, the men side by side facing the women. As soon as the dance began each man would try to seize and capture a woman on the other side. Just how this was done I am unable to say as I did not witness it, but I think my informant stated that an old woman with a stick or switch protected the women as well as she could, keeping between the two files on the lookout for a chance to drive some man back to his place. The whole performance seems to have been a pleasure dance, followed oftentimes by licentiousness. This dance is looked upon as a survival of some old way of obtaining women. I did not hear of it among the Yuchi.

The syllables and words are as follows. The first two bars have:

há no sá we *hē′le.*

The last three have:

tīhółkobī *há ya lī′.*

each other steal.

In repeating the song the order of the words in the last three bars is often changed, the chorus singing tihółkobī and the leader há ya lī. A whoop ends the dance.

8. Tolósoba'nga. Chicken Dance.

The chicken, tolósī, is thanked for his flesh by a dance in which men and women, two abreast holding hands, circle around the dance ground behind the leader. The men are allowed to make free with the persons of their partners in this dance because, it is said, they are imitating cocks. The song requires both hand rattle and drum.

The syllables are:

(A) ya hó li há, ya gó wi hi.
(B) hé go wi, ya hó^{g} ō· we ná wi hī' ya.
(C) ya le hó ya, ha na wī ye.
(D) hé ya hé no he.

9. Tabótskobanga. GUN DANCE.

A rather spectacular performance, which might be termed a sort of war dance, is one in which men only take part, each carrying a loaded rifle, revolver or gun. The dancers move in a circle as usual in single file behind the leader, stamping and responding vigorously in the chorus. Then at the end of each song they whoop and shoot their firearms, stopping long enough between songs to prepare for the next round. Drumming also goes with this dance. The resemblance between it and the war dance of the plains tribes is again noticeable. Some magic idea of strengthening or invoking the animus of the firearms is apparent here.

(E) M. M. ♩ = 100.

The burden is:

(A) hĭ′lī ná yo na, *hī′ lī*.
(B) hī′ lī *nó*.
[Repeat (A) and (B)].
(C) haí go dó, we hī yá, *he yá* (and)
haí go wé di dī, wé di dī′, *hi yá*.
(D) hé le má ya, *yá lī ha*, hé^{e} e yó *hī ya*.
(E) waí ge tō′ wa^{e}a yē′, *he ya*.

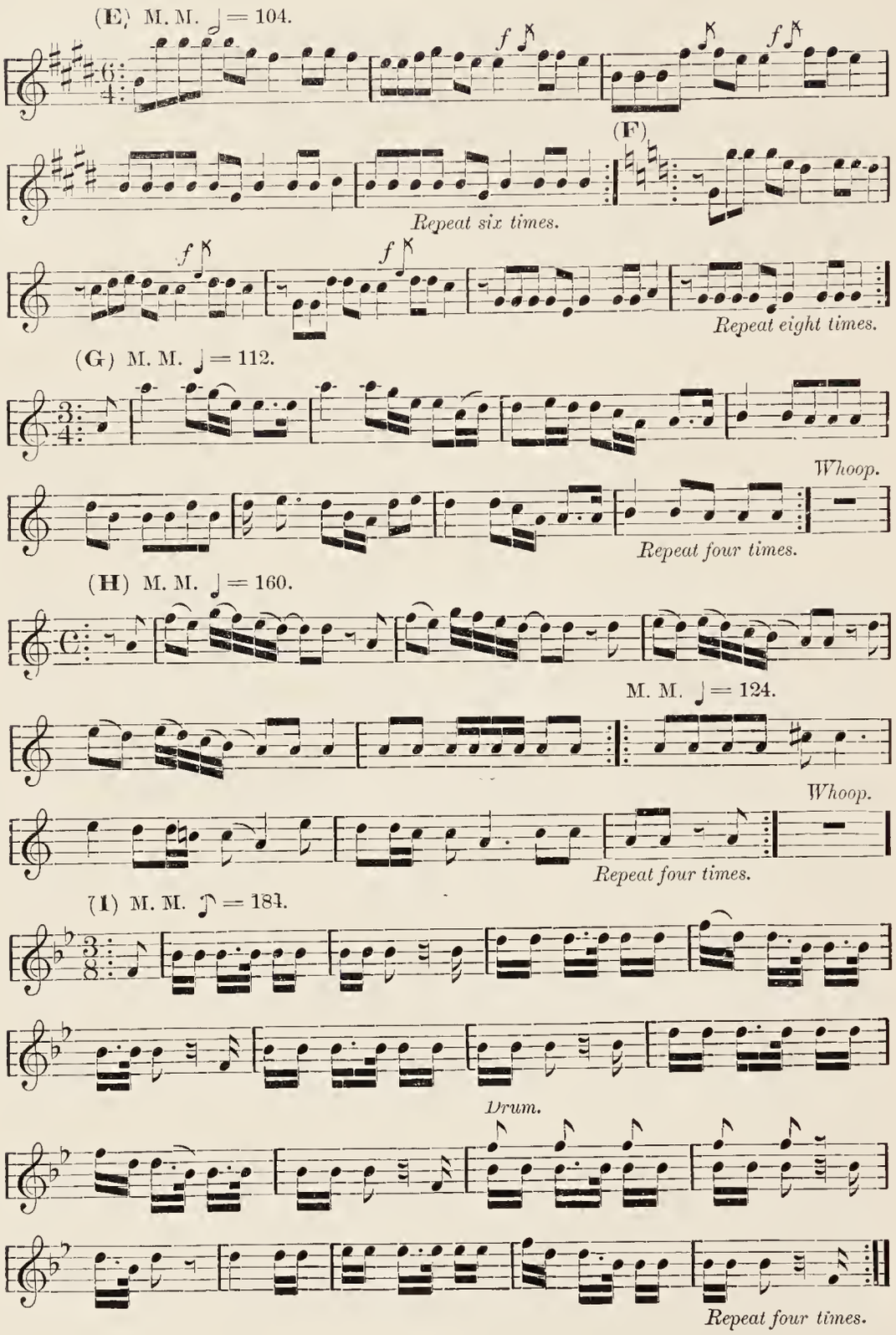
10. Kúnobanga. Skunk Dance.

The following is an honorific totemic dance in honor of the skunk, kúno. No particulars, however, in which it differed from the ordinary round dances, were learned.

(A) *Allegro*. M. M. ♩. = 100.

(B) *Presto*. M. M. ♩ = 184.

(D) M. M. ♩. = 69.


(E) M. M. ♩ = 104.
f
f
f
f
(F)
Repeat six times.
Repeat eight times.
(G) M. M. ♩ = 112.
Whoop.
Repeat four times.
(H) M. M. ♩ = 160.
M. M. ♩ = 124.
Whoop.
Repeat four times.
(I) M. M. ♪ = 184.
Drum.
Repeat four times.

The burden is:

(A) hó ya na do *ho yá le.*
(B) hyó he le *hé ga no yá le.*
(C) hyó we le he *dó yaᵉ a le.*
(D) hé le le *dé zä di* and
hī′ we ga *gó zä di.*
(E) gó no he *gó no ho yá le.*
(F) dó ga le *hó za ha lé he* (or hó za léᵉ e he).
(G) ha nó *yá ha le.*
(H) he gó *nó wī ya* and
ha nó *ya lé na.*
(I) ná we he yó ge na *hó we ya* and
hó we na le he.

11. Tciłákkobᴀ′nga. Horse Dance.

The horse, tciłákko, is honored for his usefulness by a dance in which the men trot behind their leader, who shakes the hand rattle. At the end they whinny like stallions. There appears considerable difference between the Creek and Yuchi horse dance songs (see p. 209).

The burden varies somewhat in (A).

(A) ya hó ga ni yá,
yo hó ya li yé,
ya hó we ya li yé,
} *djú na ba.*

(B) he yá ya *ho.*

(C) hé le na ha,
gó he le na ha.

Whinnying frequently interrupts the verse.

12. Baí'kobanga. MULE DANCE.

A dance in honor of the mule, tcilákkobaí'ka 'barking horse,' is similar to the horse dance, the dancers going through practically the same motions imitating mules by cries and stamping. At the end of the dance the leader brays like a mule, after which, I was told, considerable licentiousness is tolerated until the next repetition. The mule, because of his unearthly braying and mixed ancestry, is looked upon as mysterious.

The syllables are:

(A) yá sī wa no dá hé.
(B) hyó wa ha, *yó wa há* and
hyú wa ha, *yú wa há.*

The syllable groups of (B) often alternate with interjected expressions such as yanálkaba hádjigo módja, 'here in the middle [of his rear, he is] tailless now,' or others of a jocular nature improvised by the leader.

13. Istīfa'niba'nga.[1] Skeleton Dance.

The ghosts of the dead are believed to be quieted by this dance in honor of the remains of deceased ancestors. The performers assume rather stiff postures and make stiff movements, circling in the usual way about the fire. This is a Creek dance, one that I did not hear of among the Yuchi.

[1]Literally, 'human bone dance.'

The burden is:

(A) hé yo hé he. (An introduction sung softly.)

(B) hó lī wa, *yá na he* or
há yo lī wa, *yá^{E} na he.*

(C) yá na ni he, *hé na yo wa.*
ha yá lī, *gó wī ha nī.*
hé na do wa ye, yó wi hā ne, *há yā le.*
si nī dá si há li, *ha ya yo wā′ le.*

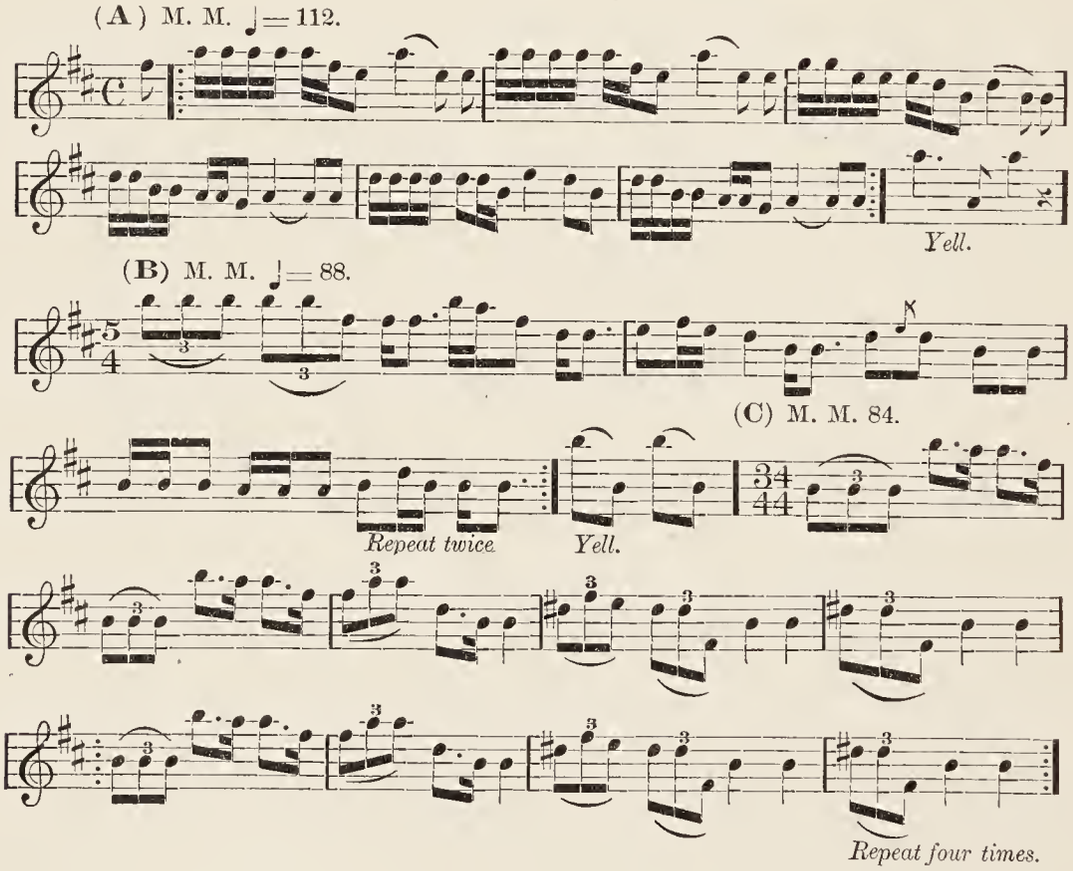
This song (C) is repeated nine times with many changes in the syllables and their repetitions.

(D) hé ya yā′ wa *hī yé.*

(E) *hō′ djī le* (four times, sung by leader and dancers in unison).

14. Stikínobanga. Screech Owl Dance.

The screech owl, stikíni, is an incarnation of some human spirit. The Indians think it is capable sometimes of causing death. Its cries at least announce the death of somebody. The following propitiatory dance is performed to ward off the evil omen. There are no special features to it so far as I know. The hand rattle is shaken by the leader.



The syllables are:

(A) ha yó wa na *ho li yá he.* (Shouts and yells at the end.)
(B) yo wá$^{\varepsilon}$ *lī he* (and)
ha$^{\varepsilon}$ yo wá$^{\varepsilon}$ *lī he.* (Shouts and yells at the end.)
(C) há yo nī$^{\varepsilon}$ ī *há nī* (and) (Whoop at the end.)
há yo wá no nī$^{\varepsilon}$ ī *há nī.*
(D) hé ga wa ya *hé le* (and) (Whoop at the end.)
ká yo wa ya *hé le.*

15. O'bobanga. Long-eared Owl Dance.

The large long-eared owl, óbo, is another creature thought necessary to placate by an emulatory dance. The hand rattle furnishes the accompaniment. Its features are of the regular order.

The syllables are:

(A) hó hī ye *yá hya we* (or) *yá hya$^{\varepsilon}$ wī′ hī.* (The cry *hó hī ye* ends this and the following verse.)

(B) yá hya we *yó ga lí na.*

(C) yo wé he he *he do nā′ ahe.* (The cry *hōp hē* ends this verse.)

(D) há nī a hó$^{\varepsilon}$ o ge *hē′ mā nō.*

(E) yá li ha hí *hā yo ga ni.*

wé he yā′ "

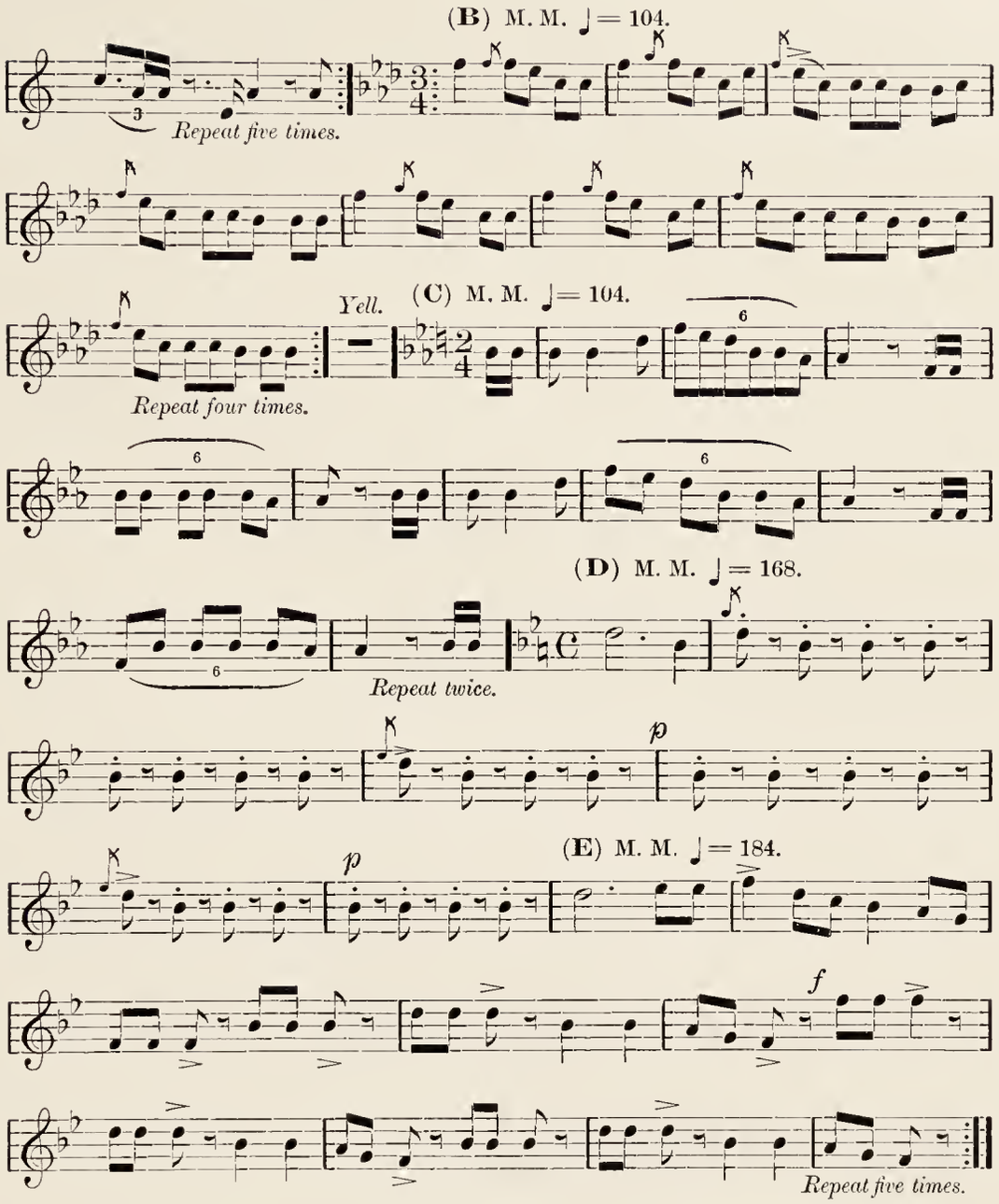
hó we yā′ "

hoí ya wé "

The cry *hōp hē,* imitating the owl, again ends the song.

16. Súlība′nga. Buzzard Dance.

The turkey buzzard, súlī, is a totemic creature. People of the buzzard clan, and others who desire, perform an imitative dance, to the accompaniment of drum and rattle, in which they circle about behind their leader waving their arms like a flapping buzzard. At the end of each song they bend down, spit, and hiss like a buzzard disgorging food. The song accelerates toward the end (at D), the motion of the dancers' arms keeping time with it. A rather unusual feature of the song is the invocatory mention of the buzzard's name toward the end.



The burdens are:

(A) ya gó li há, *ya gó wī hī.* (At the end of this verse comes a cry ya ho.)

(B) dā′ wa ya *hí li* (twice).
(or) he dá wa ya$^{\varepsilon}$ a *hí li.*

(C) há ni wa yā′ *hē·′ hā·*
(or) há ni wa yā′ hī.

(D) súlī wa yā′ súlī wa yā′ he.
buzzard buzzard
(E) hé ya *nó ha ya* and
hé ya *he yó hī.*

The last syllables of this verse diminish in sound until scarcely to be heard, forming almost a pause.

17. Pokídjīdaba′nga. Ball Game Dance.

A dance somewhat different from the usual sort, is performed by the Creeks to invoke supernatural strength for the players, and the sticks or rackets they use, in the Indian ball game.[1] The dance takes place the night before the game and consumes the whole night. The sticks to be used are painted red, the symbol of contest, and hung upon a cross pole supported on crotched uprights. A line of women side by side faces the sticks and a line of men, including the players, on the opposite side of the rack faces the women. They all mark time and stamp in unison singing the following songs in which meaningless syllables are interspersed with words and sentences having the effect of conjuration. The women sing loudest since they are thought to exert the strongest influence. Drumming accompanies this dance. The Yuchi have a similar ceremony, but the song, Yuchi ball game song, presented further on, pertains to another part of the game (see page 209).

The syllables, as far as could be taken down, are:

[1]For accounts of this widespread game cf. p. 86, and Culin, Twenty-fourth Annual Rep. Bu. Amer. Ethnology (1906), pp. 562-716.

(D) M. M. ♪ = 138.
(E) M. M. ♩ = 112.
Repeat nine times.
Repeat eight times.
(F) M. M. ♩ = 144.
(G) M. M. ♩ = 150.
Repeat six times.
(H) M. M. ♩ = 124.
Whoop.
Repeat nine times.
Repeat eight times.
(I) M. M. ♩ = 158.
Whoop.
Repeat six times.

(A) hó ya *yá ga nī.* (Whoop at end.)

(B) hyó we do ná *he.* (Whoop at end.)

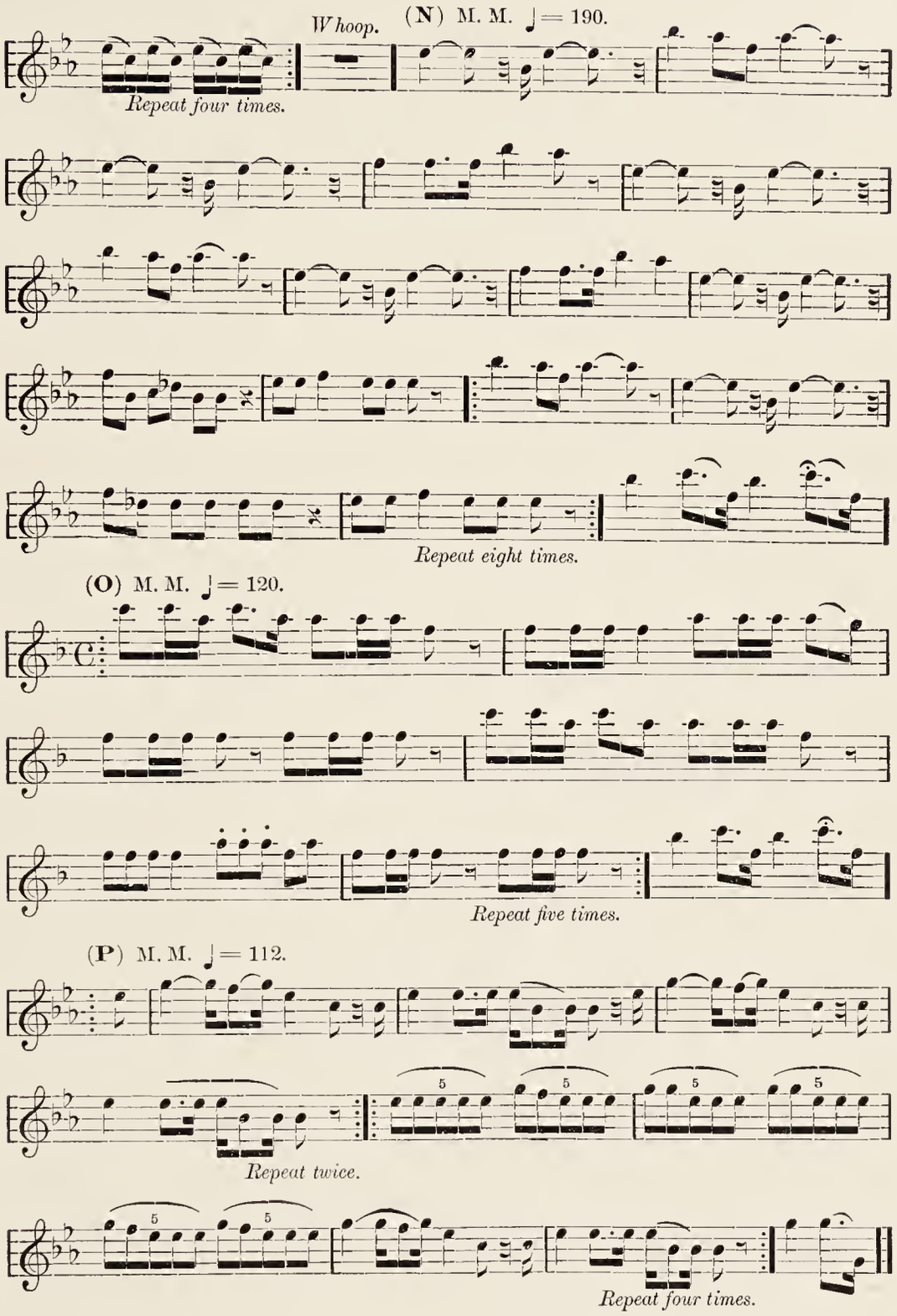
In this and the rest of the verses are words which I could not obtain.

(C) nó ha yá le.

(D) (E) (F) syllables and words not obtained.

(G) he le (once as introduction).
hó na djī dó ga *há go né ga.* (Whoop at end.)
(H) hé le[1] *má ho ge*[1] and
hé le sī há[1] *má ho ge.*
(I) djí go ná[1] *ya dó ge.* (Whoop at end.)

[1]While the informant gave no meaning for these syllables, hele is like ili 'foot,' mahoge is part of the verb 'to say,' hele si ha could be 'foot halter,' and djigona means 'limper.'


Whoop.
(N) M. M. ♩= 190.
Repeat four times.
Repeat eight times.
(O) M. M. ♩= 120.
Repeat five times.
(P) M. M. ♩= 112.
Repeat twice.
Repeat four times.

The syllables are:

(A) yá ha ya *yo wá lī nó hī.*
(B) hó we na *há na wī' le.*
(C) ha yó we ga ni *ha yó we le ha.*
(D) ho ná *we le.*
(E) ho wé lī *wá yo na.*
(F) ho ná *we le* (same as D).
(G) há na dī yá we *yó ha he.*
(H) hó ga ne *yá li go.*
(I) hwé le *wá yo na* (similar to E).
(J) wa djī dá *ná go si.*
(K) ho yó (introduction).
hó djo no, he lé yá le he *hä'.* (Whoop at end.)
(L) ha GAN' gwa djī. (With this verse and all the rest on go words which were unfortunately not all gotten.)
(M) Repeat (K) with quick repetitions of *badjá,* 'grandfather,' at the end of the verse.

This song is ended with shouts and *badjá, badjá yó hyo.*

(N) hó we lí *go hó we lī.*
(O) *há yo gá ne*

hátkisA'lgi,
white ones.
lástisA'lgi,
black ones.
tcádisAlgi,
red ones.
lánisAlgi,
yellow ones.

(P) hyo wé na *nó ha ya le.*

18. TáfosobAnga.[2] FEATHER DANCE. (Taskigi Town.)

One of the few Creek dances performed during the daytime was the following in honor of the animus of the feather, táfo. This dance, a long and important one, was intimately associated with the ceremony of the emetic so prominent in the rites of the southeastern tribes.[2] Each dancer held in his hands sticks about six feet long with a fringe of white heron feathers attached. They had to pay a shaman to make these wands as the heron feathers were

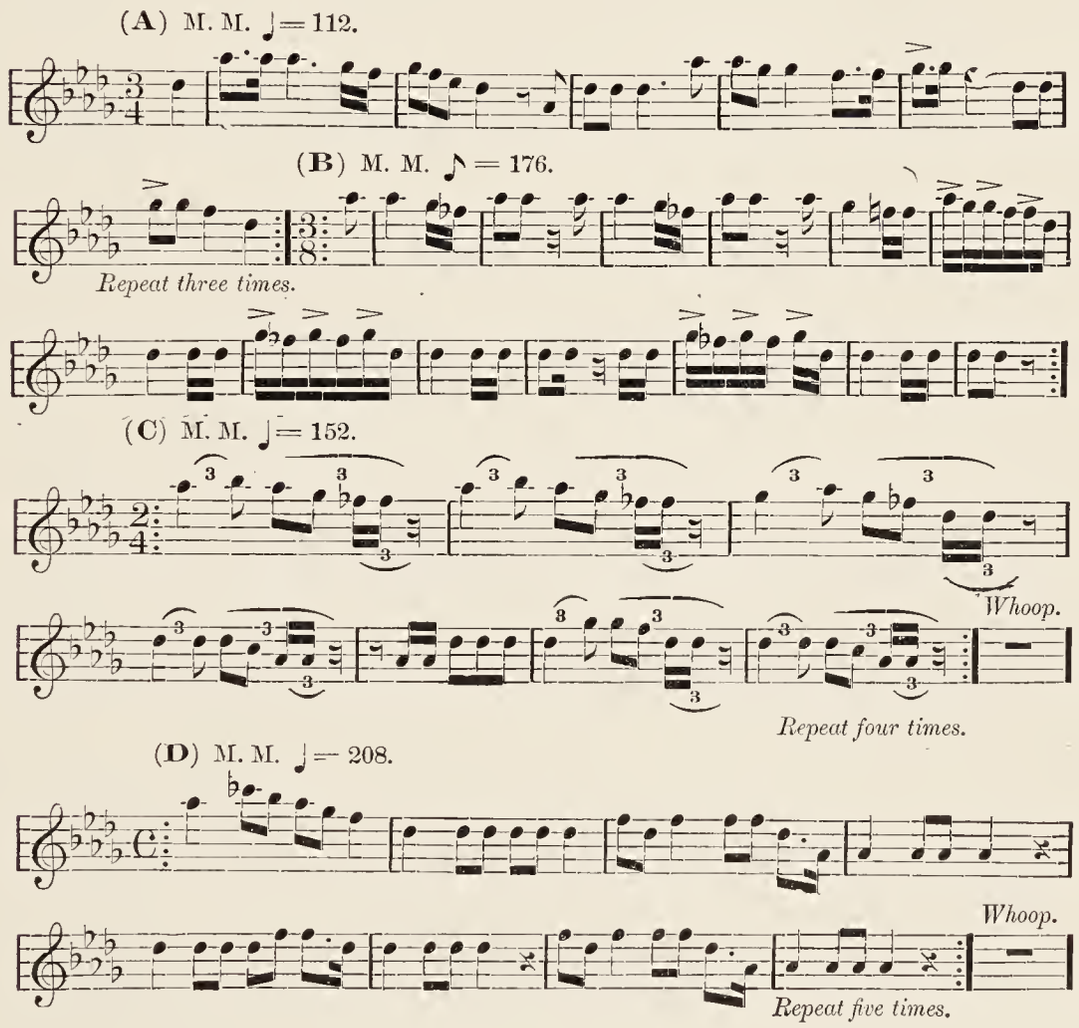
[1]Táfo, 'feather,' -s- verbal element, obA'nga 'dance'.

[2]See p. 115, and M.A.A.A., pp. 140-141. Between the songs of this dance the participants drank a decoction of red willow root and button snake root which caused them to vomit.

sacred, and could only be handled after the proper rites. They insured peace and protected the people from human and supernatural evil.

The Feather Dance was rather spectacular. Picture the town square with its four brush covered arbors filled with interested spectators in the midst of their annual religious festival. The dancers clad in their calico finery, with ostrich and other highly colored plumes in their head bands and their fluttering wands, start circling in a single file behind the leader, the drum and hand rattle beating time. At the end of the second song they group together in a squad, elevate their wands and rush whooping toward the west arbor of the square where the town chief sits. Bringing themselves suddenly to a halt, they raise the wands high, then drive them into the earth before the arbor. This performance is enacted successively before each of the four arbors, after which the occupants take a drink of the emetic.

Kabítcīmáła knew the fourteen different songs of the Feather Dance which are offered here, but many words in the last songs were not obtained.



19. FEATHER DANCE. (Tulsa Town.)

Fortunately for purposes of comparison, Kabítcīmáła was able to sing a version of the Feather Dance which came from Tulsa town, a Creek town-tribe northeast of Taskigi. (Cf. map, M.A.A.A.) This he learned from a Tulsa town

leader years ago. The version is interesting ethnographically because it shows that in such details the various towns differed from each other.

(A) Allegro. M. M. ♩= 152.
Repeat eight times.
(B) Presto. M. M. ♩= 190.
Drum beat.
(C) Presto. M. M. 𝅗𝅥= 104.
Repeat five times
Repeat five times.
Repeat three times. Whoop.
(D) M. M. ♩= 138.
Repeat four times. Yell.

The syllables are:

(A) hó sī do,[1] *yá na he* and
ho sī′ do sī′ do *ho ya le.*

[1]While no meaning was ascribed to this when it was taken down, it nevertheless means 'to forget.'

(B) há no go wá *lī na.*
(C) hó lī ya, yo há no ga *yo ga lī′.* (Whoop at end.)
(D) hó le ne wá yo ne *yá na hē′ hé ya.*
The yell hâ′ᵋ yo wī′ concludes the song.

20. Oba′ngahā′djo. Crazy Dance.

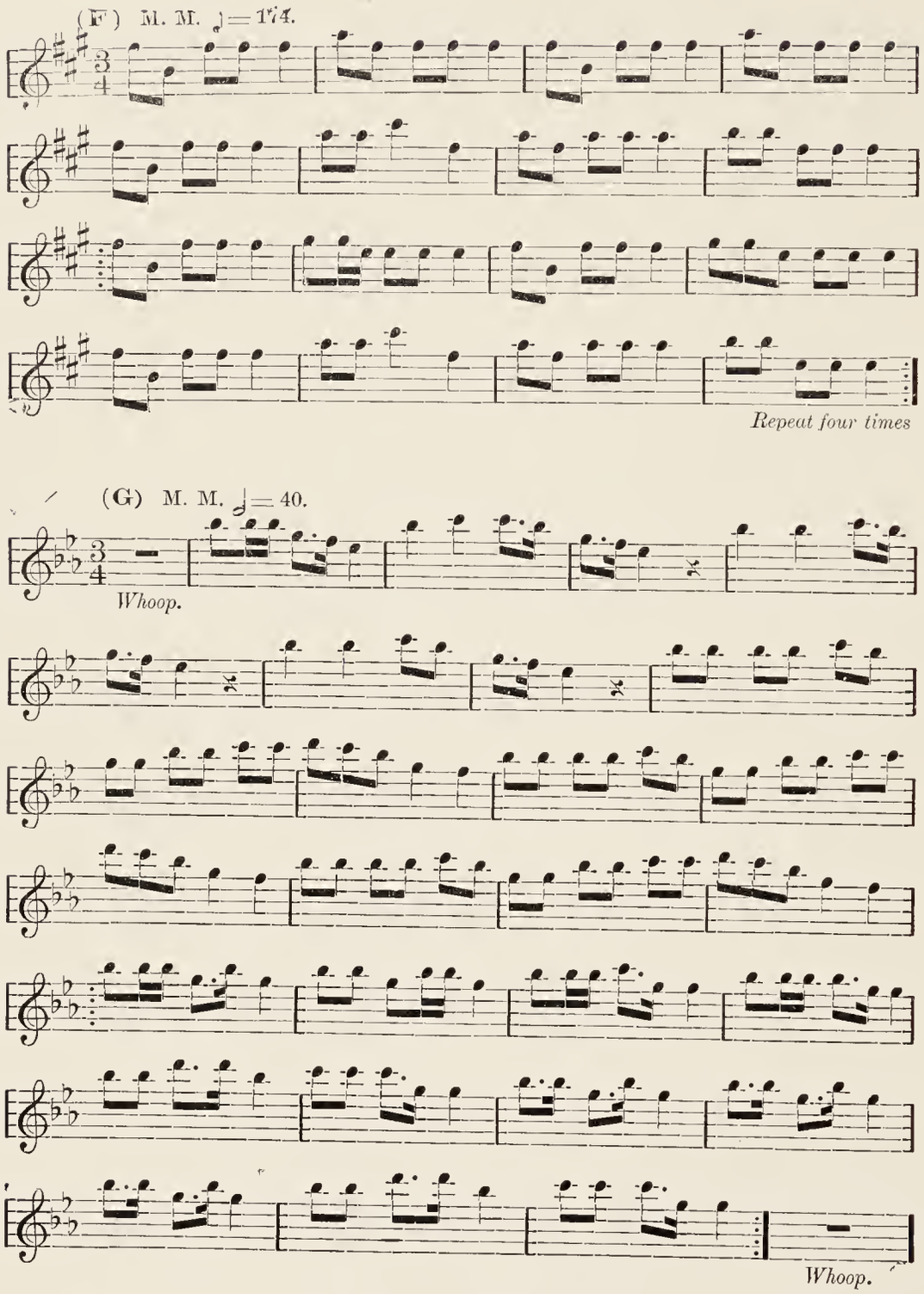
One of the favorite Creek dances is the Crazy Dance, so named because the participants behave like wild people, men and women taking freedom with each other's persons and acting in general in such a way as to provoke mirth. The word hādjo is peculiar to the Muskogi also as a personal name in the sense of wild, clever, funny, crazy, and withal in no way opprobrious. The songs for the Crazy Dance usually are funny or obscene stories, which in connection with other traits, suggests that in some way there is a connection between the dance and the idea of procreation. In other respects the movements, motions and accompaniments are similar to the other dances. Licentiousness usually follows after it.

A peculiar feature of the Crazy Dance is that it is customary for the women who take part in it to pay twenty-five cents to their male partners, a practice which is found also among the plains tribes.

(C) M. M. ♩ = 96.

(D) M. M. ♩ = 136.

(E) M. M. ♩ = 150.


(F) M. M. ♩ = 174.
Repeat four times
(G) M. M. 𝅗𝅥 = 40.
Whoop.
Whoop.

The words and syllables of the various songs of this dance are:

(A) Introduction not transcribed.

whoop yó hyo, *yo$^{\varepsilon}$ o$^{\varepsilon}$ ho hoi.* (Three times.)
yo ŋyo, *yo hyo.* (Four times.)
ā ha, *ā ha.* "
ye hye, *ye hye.* "
yo hyo, *yo hyo.* "
we hä, *we hä.* "
we hī ya$^{\varepsilon}$ ä, *we hī ya$^{\varepsilon}$ ä.* "
we he, *we he.* "
yo hyo, *yo hyo.* "

The above cries by the leader and responses by the chorus are continued while he walks circling about the fire on the dance ground. At the end the leader gives a long whoop and the line breaks up to form again soon and repeat the whole. After these two songs, the dance proper begins (B).

(B) yá li ha yó hä, *há he.*
(C) hé ya hi yá hä, *há we hä* (or)
hyó wa hi yá hä, *yá we hä.*

There are some words to this verse, but all that could be obtained was "ya ma talófa, this here my village," meaning "this is where I belong," and "tcahásīka sútki, my hat is too small."[1]

(D) hé ga yo wá lī he or *yā' hī ye.*
gá hyo wá lī he.
(E) yá we he yá ya, *a hyō' he he.*

[1]Another example of these interjectional phrases is mákosígodesím "he never could say it before, (but he can say it) now," from a dance song, as I remember it, in which the burden was hákoiyáka tcá, and said to mean "come on with it."

(F) hé ya hī′ yā′ we, *há hī ya hī yā′ we.*

(G) (H) yó hyo, *yó wa hī yá* (Repeat several times.)

tcí′łakkobaí′ka, *ámo′padédjes.*
[my] mule, saddle him for me.
háyapołákko, *djólädjīófan.*
[on the] prairie big, when we get there,
yánasadjifa′kna, *ílīdjaófan.*
buffalo young bull,[1] when I kill him.
tcáhaiwa, ítskī, *tēnhambīófan.*
my wife's mother, when we eat together,
tcáhanīófa, *wásasīmíkko.*
when she seolds me. Osage chief,
ínhadí′sinófa, *wásosoa′lgi.*
when I beeome his son-in-law, many little Osages,
ódjutskaiófan.
when I made them.
háyadidjałákka, *hádjahálwadjófa.*
morning star big, when it is rising,
pínadjadjahóga, *djā′hoginpó′hät.*
old turkey gobbler. when I hear him gobbling.
ámīdjalíska, *a′ngałonáyid.*
my old gun, I start with it on my shoulder.
ayí′bit, *ī′łołaiófa.*
I'll go along, when I get there,
ídoładjiłákko, *hí′djät.*
[on] tree limb big. I'll see him.
ídohwī′łan, *isí′′djät.*
on a tree standing, I'll see him.
hásmīlä′yät, *īdjä′hät.*
I'll aim at him, I'll shoot him.
łahä′t ilīdjätłółut, *tcā′haiwa ítskī.*
when I shoot him, I'll kill him, turning. My wife's mother.
laidjogósdjät, *līsalagaófa.*
I'll take it on my back, when I get there
tcáhadjawa′lgi, *pínhokpīabíswa.*
my sisters-in-law, turkey breast meat
dínhambīófa, *sídihanīófan.*
when we eat it together, when they begin quarreling,
sídibóhin, *ísnafä′kät.*
fighting with each other, I'll knoek them about.
ándalogī′bit, (Whoop.)
I'll eat it all up myself.

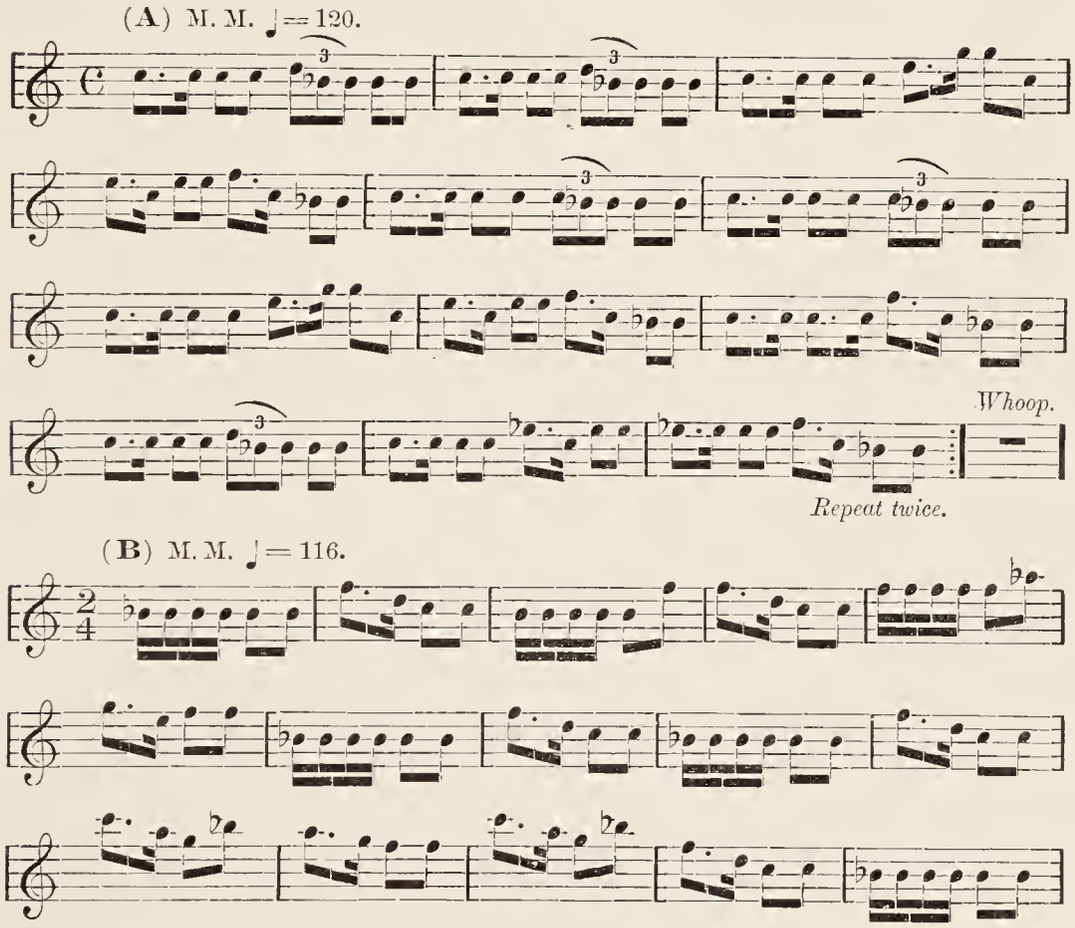
This ends the song except for some repetitions of he′ya wa *héya,* which also interrupts the text in a few places, acting as a sort of pause.

[1]The informant gave " young bull elephant" for this.

The sense of the above primitive lyric song is not very clearly expressed in the interlinear translation. The singer changes his tense, mood and voice at random. First he orders his mule saddled to hunt buffalo on the prairie. Then he depicts the scene with his mother-in-law when they eat together and ends with a quarrel. For revenge he goes off, marries an Osage chief's daughter and raises children. Next the scene changes to an early morning when he is hunting turkeys. After getting one he packs it to his old home and leaves it among his sisters-in-law. They fall to quarreling over the breast meat, whereupon he takes the opportunity of knocking them about and eating it all up himself to pay off old scores. The song appeals profoundly to Indian humor and is well known among the northern Creek towns.

21. Oba'nga hā'djo CRAZY DANCE.

Another dance song of this class is the following from the repertoire of Laslie Cloud. In the second song (B) alternating with the nonsense syllables as given, the leader waxes confidential about some girl of his town, but the text was not obtained.



The burden is :

(A) *hówe* go yá^{e} a le

(B) yóha lī ne

áhī ya ha lī′ne

(The words of the song alternate with the above syllable groups. Only a fragment of the text can be given.)

hágin safótki

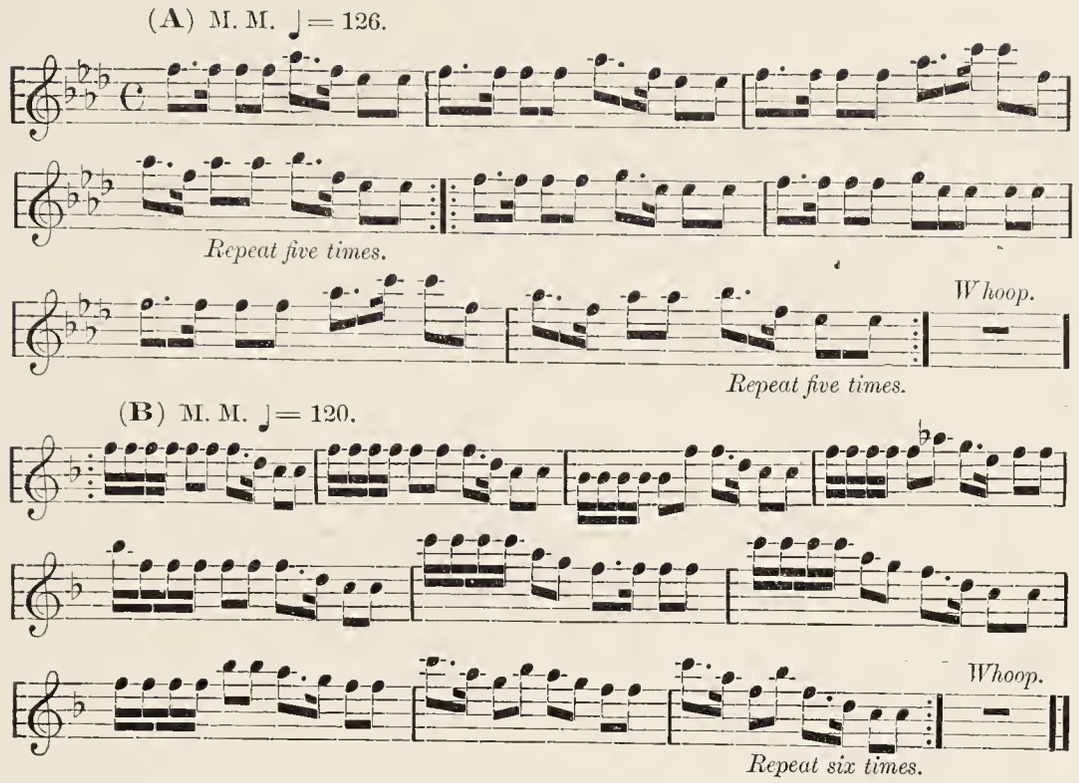
noise ?

hwī′djada fuski

? sharp

3. (Second Version.)

A duplicate version of this song is offered to show how various renderings differ in details.

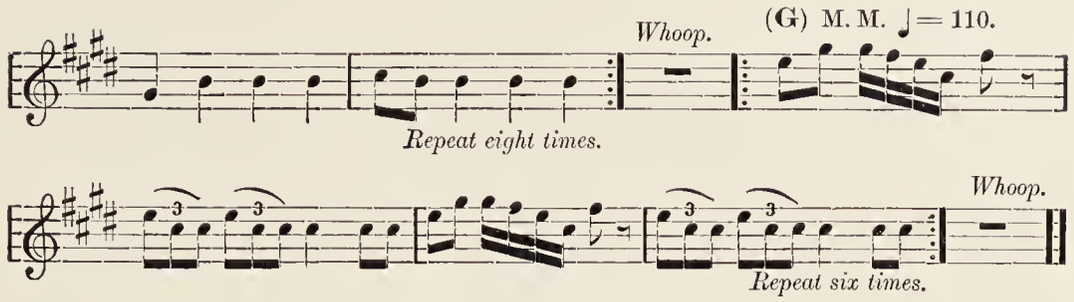


22. Hā′djobanga[1] DRUNKEN DANCE.

The main features of this dance are like those of the others. The participants follow the leader in a circle around the fire. Drumming and rattling go with it and two women wear the leg rattles. The dancers reel, jostle one another and act in general like drunken men. Oftentimes they do not need to act it as they usually dance this at a time when many have been drinking. It seems to be entirely a pleasure dance, probably of modern origin, embracing perhaps some idea of propitiation. As in the Crazy Dance, the remarks on which also apply to this, the leader may compose words for the song, improvise on the spot, or merely keep up a meaningless burden with a few expressions here and there. The songs are usually ludicrous, sometimes telling a story or some clownish anecdote.

[1]Ha′dji means 'drunken'.

(B) M. M. ♩= 120.
Whoop.
Repeat four times.
(C) M. M. ♩= 108.
Whoop.
Repeat nine times.
(D) M. M. ♩= 120.
Whoop.
Repeat six times.
(E) M. M. ♩= 116.
(F) M. M. ♩= 196.
Whoop.
Repeat six times.



The syllables and words of one version are:

(A) hó lī na wé *yó wa hī yä.* (whoop at end).

(B) hé ga ya *ká yo wá li.* (twice).

gīłago djahádjí
I don't know any thing I am drunk
nákhomī temískī
something strong we drink together
ístamáhedoháks. (whoop at end.)
something wonderful, is it not?

Repeat with the following in which one of the women is supposed to be speaking:

we hé *yo na.* (four times.)
hahwébage, djakédjiba.
let us go, she says to me,
djahésigo.
I have no husband.
djíndaba łamónäyas. (man supposed to be speaking.)
your bed, tell me where it is.
djihA′de néne łamónäyas. (whoop at end.)
your home road, tell me where it is.

(C) nó he *yó le.* (first five bars.)

djīhi waka súmhogi ałis. (woman supposed to be speaking.)
my husband lies down, [I will] run away from him and wander.
djéhe läga súmhogi ała.
my husband stays home, [I will] run away and wander.
djáhe läga súmhogi áłis. (man supposed to be speaking, whoops at end.)
my wife stays home, [I will] run away and wander.

(D) hó ya wé. (repeat a number of times.)

łīsalä′gosin tcinhä′sin. (from here on through (E) man is supposed to be speaking.)
when the moon rises I'll cohabit with you,
yá nade gA′n náłkabadégosin tcinhäsin.
here in the entire abdomen. in the centre of the body. I'll cohabit with you.

(E) yá li go *yá no he.* (repeat a number of times.)

nódjałis níłi hámgosäs.
I'll sleep with you night just one
níni dímbosäs.
road close to
níłi óstosäs.
night just four
djógo lískosa.
[in that] house old
níłi pálosäs łisnódjäs. (whoop at end.)
night just ten I'll sleep with you.

(F) łī′ so sá ye (or) *hé go dá li he.*
łī′ so gá li he.
éhe débkadjoks *djikaí hodjikaí hosa.* (an outsider is here supposed to be speaking.)
husband will whip her they say of you, they say of you.
éhe náfkodjoge *djigē′hodjigē′esa.* (whoop.)
husband will strike you they say of you, they say of you.

(G) há li na *wé ya he* (and)
yó ha li na *wę́ ē′ he he ya.*
djínhokoígesa *djigē′ hodjigē′ esa.*
you he will call. they say of you, they say of you.
héhenoē′gesa *djigē′ hodjigē′ esa* (whoop at end.)
when you are called (?) they say of you, they say of you.

An interesting feature of this song is the rôle played by the leader in which he impersonates a man, then a woman and finally an outsider or public opinion. The chorus of dancers follow along as best they can with the song, or else sing *he ya* or some common burden syllables, at the end of each phrase if they do not know the words. Through long popularity, however, this kind of song is generally well known. The words are given as they were heard without any attempt to normalize the variant renderings..

YUCHI DANCE SONGS.

The following small collection of Yuchi dance songs was obtained from Ekīłané "It has left me," a second chief, Kū'ba, "Creek Indian," and Fagó$^{\varepsilon}$o^{n}wī', "Comes out of the thicket," and Jim Tiger. The main features of the dances to which these songs belong are about the same as those of the neighboring Creeks of Taskigi town, which have already been described.[1] The music, however, judging from what is available, seems to differ materially, the Yuchi songs lacking the vigor of the Creek. Owing to the close proximity of the two peoples they participated frequently in each other's dances. Now that the Taskigi have given up their own ceremonies they attend those of the Yuchi, generally using their own songs when invited to lead dances.

The musical instruments employed by the two peoples in their dances are identical. In regard to the town square-ground which is at the same time the dance area, there are some points of difference which should be noted. The Yuchi square-ground has only three brush-covered lodges, one at the north side, facing inward, one at the south, and one at the west, but none at the eastern edge.[2]

Phonetic Key to Yuchi.

Glottal catch$^{\varepsilon}$, *k* and *g* surd and sonants similar to the English; *t* and *d*, and *p* and *b* rather difficult to distinguish as to their surd and sonant quality; *c* like English sh; surd *tc* like English "ch" in "church;" *dj* corresponding sonant; *s*, *ts*, *ʃ*, *n*, *l*, and *dz* similar to the English sounds; ł as in Creek, as are the semivowels. The vowels have the same quality as in Creek except *ä*, which is like ä in English "fan." Vowel prolongation is marked by a dot following, ·, and !, and accent by ′.

1. Dätoᵋä′ ctī. Big Turtle Dance.

This dance is the first and most formal dance to be performed on the occasion of the annual ceremonies. It is in honor of a creature called Big Turtle, Dätoᵋä′, a supernatural horned reptile, denoted in Yuchi as a turtle

[1]For an independent account of Yuchi dancing, see pp. 124-130, 112-113.

[2]See pp. 111, 118, also Plates XI et seq.

though having a snake-like body, which figures conspicuously in southeastern mythology. This being is associated with the rainbow, storms, thunder, lightning and also disease. A stuffed deerskin effigy of the creature colored blue rested on the ground in front of the north lodge of the town square, in former times.

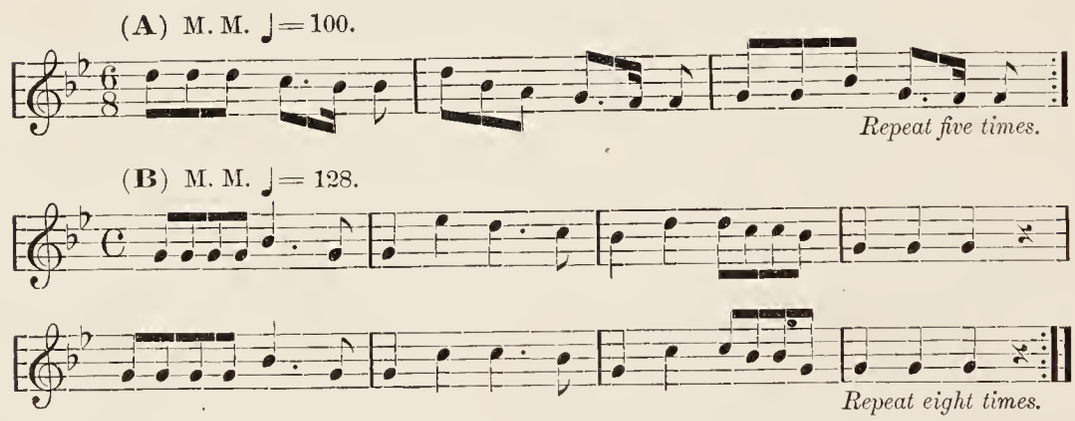
As I have given a more detailed account of this dance in Part One of this volume, an abstract from the original source[1] will convey a clearer idea of the scene.

The dancers, grouping themselves about the leader who sings and rattles, form a compact mass and begin moving in a circle. A woman with the leg rattles, joins the throng of dancers when they start to circle in single file about the fire contra-clockwise. When the leader finishes the first song he whoops and the dancers disperse for a short interval. Soon the leader begins circling the fire, singing the introduction (A) and the dancers who have been resting, seated in the lodges on the square-ground, file in again behind him. No drumming accompanies this dance.

The following version of the song was sung by Kū'ba.

The above is a sort of gathering song which is continued as long as the dancers are grouped closely on the corner of the square-ground. The syllables are yó hyo, *hó'* (the chorus joining vigorously on hó').

When the leader breaks out of this group and starts dancing and rattling toward the fire he changes the tune to the following, which is continued until the end of the first dance.



[1]See pp. 119, 111 and Plate XII, 1 and 2.

The burden syllables are:

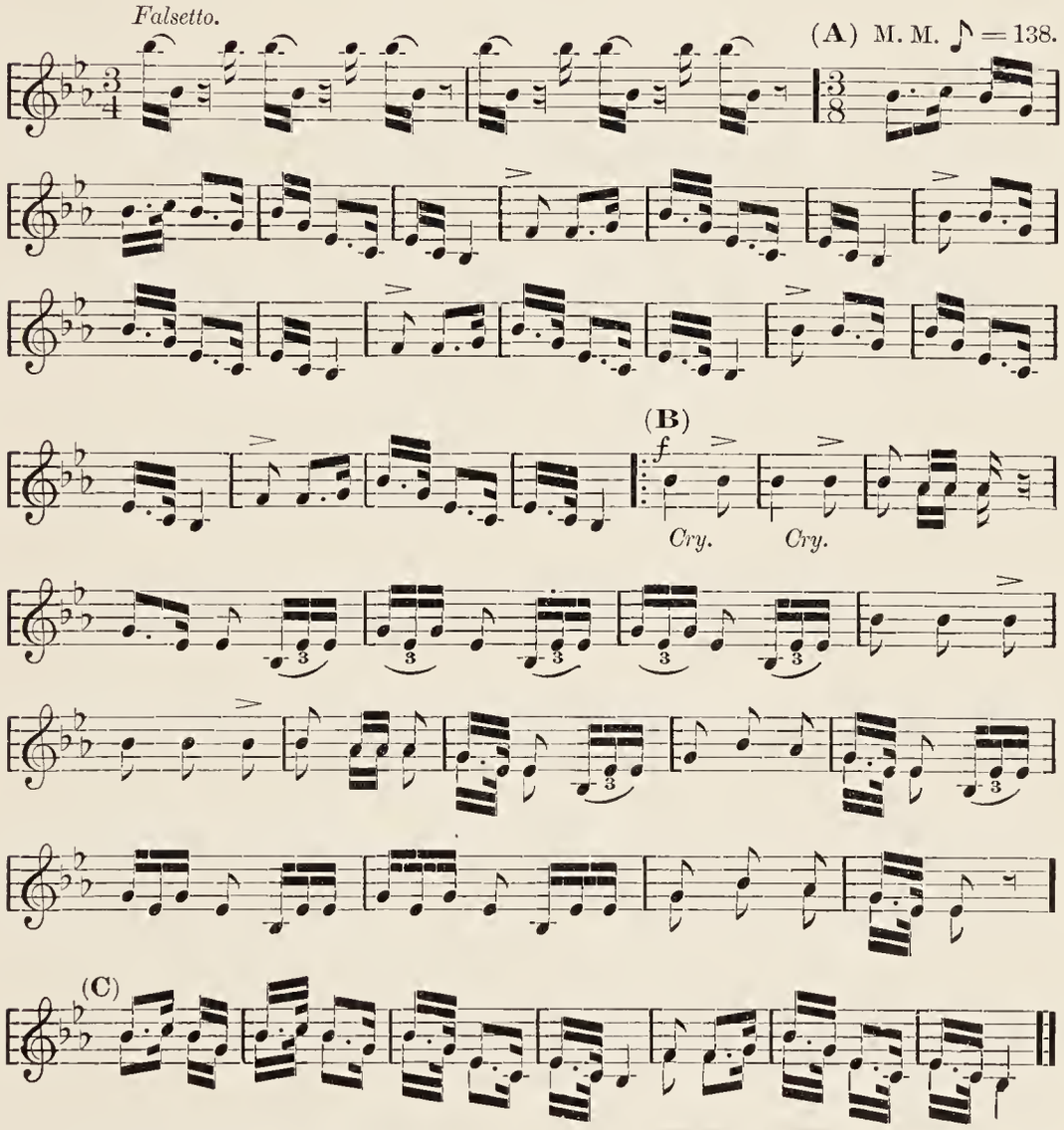
(A) ho yá nī yo *yä nä.*

(B) hé yo wé hä
or hī yó, we hä′ } *yá le hä* or *yó he yä.*

2. Cūcpá ctī. GARFISH DANCE.

The Garfish or Pike, cūcpá, esteemed as a food fish, is honored by a dance in which the rattle, in the hands of the leader, and the small water drum in one of the square-ground lodges accompany the song. So far as observed there are no special features to this dance.

(Duet of treble voices.[1])



[1]Sung by Fagó°o^{n}wī and Kū′ba

This song has an introduction shown in the first two bars, the syllables of which are ho hó, ha há, he hé, hä hä′, ho hó, uttered rapidly by the leader while walking about the dance circle before commencing the song proper. The leader sings the first syllables, the chorus of dancers alternate with the underlined ones. The song begins at (A) with the unmeaning burden of

we he *ya ho lī na.*

At (B) several cries begin the strain, after which the burden syllables are:

we há yo *háyo na.*

At the fifth and sixth bars the cry wī hē hó‘ is given twice.

At (C) the syllables of (A) are repeated.

3. Tsebé^{n}bené ctī. Drunken Dance.

A favorite dance with not only the Yuchi, but also the Creeks and probably other southern tribes, is one known as the Crazy or Drunken Dance. To most Indians this is purely a pleasure dance. The men who participate in it are usually as much under the influence of whiskey as they can get, the idea of the thing being to submit directly to its mysterious magic inflatus. The use of whiskey among the Creeks and Yuchi as a stimulant to the senses as well as to the singing and motions of the dancers, seems to be similar to that of mescal or peyote among the tribes farther southwest. Not all of the dancers, however, become drunk nor is it even necessary to have drink. The aim of the dancers seems to be to reach a high pitch of excitement, which is, of course, helped out by whiskey. With the Creeks this and the Crazy Dance are supposed to be the occasion for taking extreme liberties with the persons of women participants, but with the Yuchi the feeling appeared to be somewhat milder, though its obscene side was not entirely lacking.

There are, as at all such gatherings, some women whose chief object in coming to the dances is to gratify their passions with different men, and it may be with the Yuchi at any rate that this dance, coming usually among the later performances in the small hours of the morning, occurs at a time and under conditions that are naturally less restrained. I presume, though, since one has to judge from a relative standpoint, that by some the conclusion of this dance upon certain occasions would be described as a scene of uproarious debauchery.

The leader accompanies his song with the hand rattle. Two women with the leg rattles enter the line of dancers at their third or fourth circuit, coming from between the north and east lodge. They fall in directly behind the leader and keep time stamping each foot vigorously. The volume of sound is quite intense. Before the first song is concluded these women leave the file, only to return again as before when the second song has gotten started.

While no words nor expressions appear in the version offered, it is never-

theless a common practice in this dance to introduce ideas, sometimes of a suggestive obscene nature, sometimes in ridicule of different persons.[1]

[1] See p. 129.

The meaningless syllables of each song vary between several slightly different groups. They are:

(A) yō′ wa hī } *yā′ hī ye* (and)
yō′ we hī }

(B) hō′ wa lī na yā′ hī ye *ya′ hī ye* (and)
hō′ ya lī na yā′ hwē *yā′ hī ye* and *yō′ we he yā′*

(C) yá le ha, yō′ hō we he (and)
hō′ we, yā′ ha we.

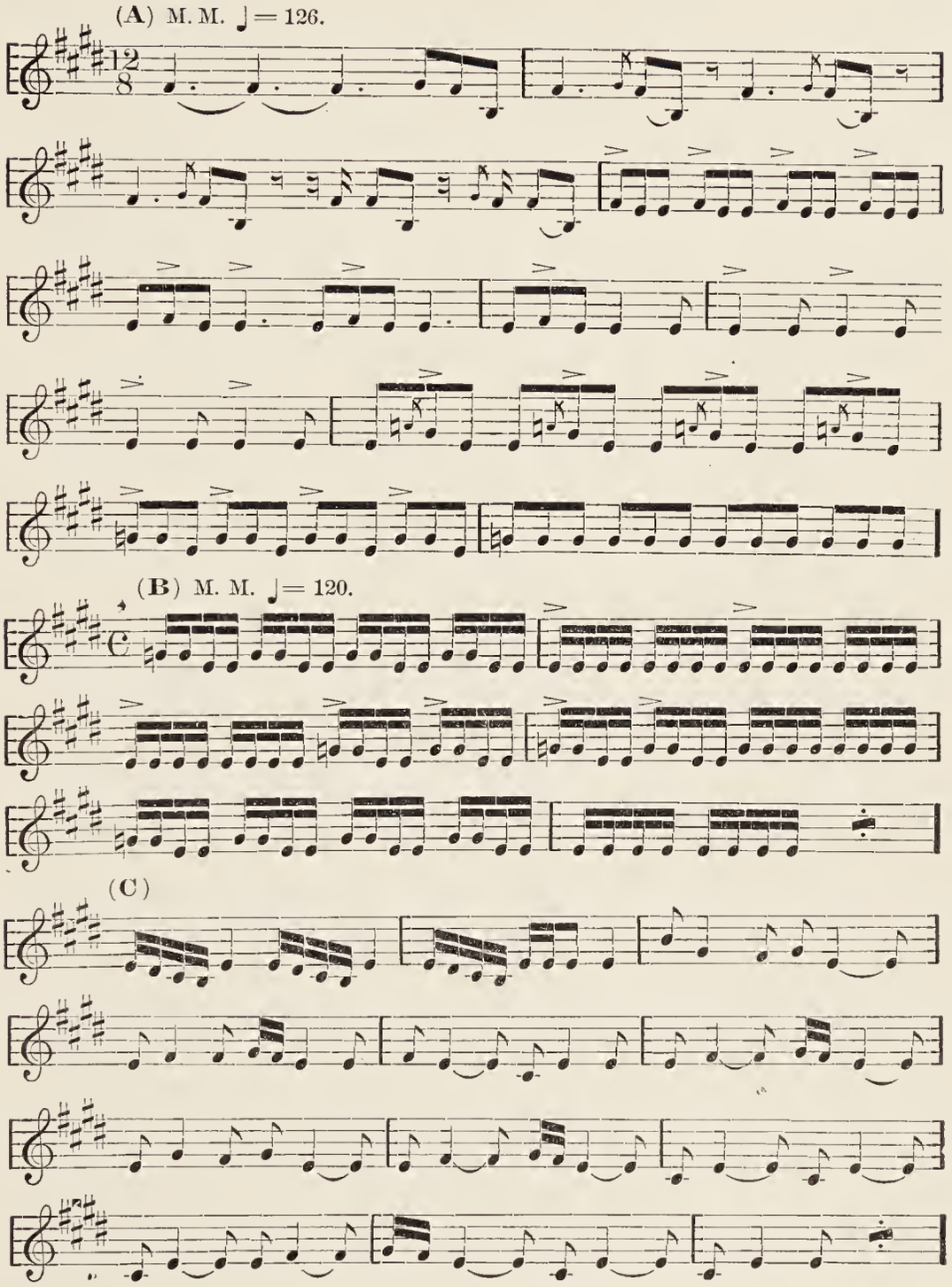
(D) yō′ na na, hē′ na na.

(E) hā′ we yā wä *ya hē′ hē ye* (and)
hō′ we ya hó we *ya hē′ he.*

(F) há na ho wā′ li *yō′ wa lī ha‘′.*

4. YUCHI DANCE SONG.

The following is a typical Yuchi round dance song. It was sung by Kū′ba, who often used it when invited to lead, but he assigned no particular name or function to it. An accompaniment was provided by the drum and hand rattle.



The meaningless syllables are:

(A) Introduction consisting of repeated yō′ hyō, ā′ hye, wē′ hä, a hī yá^{ɛ}ä and other similar variable combinations.
(B) yó ya lī hä.
(C) hó ho a hó hä, hé he hé a he.
(D) wé hä yó wa lī hä.
(E) há we le hä.
(F) há hi ya hä′, á hi ya hä′.
(G) hī′ we yū′ le, hī′ we yá^{ɛ} e, ha yó ha.

5. Yuchi Dance Song.

The following is another typical round dance song sung by Fagó^{ɛ}o^{n}wī′.

(A) M. M. ♩ = 84.

The syllables are:

(A) Introduction with repetitions of yō hō, ya hwē′ lī,
há hī yo, a hī yáᴱe.

(B) he yó li yó hä
he yó we hi ya lä
we há yo na.
} varying repetitions.

(C) ká yo wa lī, yó wa lī hé.

6. Wâtsoné ctī. BALL GAME DANCE.

The following dance takes place just before the racket ball game[1] is begun. The players, with their ball sticks in hand, stripped and ornamented for the contest, dance about their goal posts to surround them with protective magic.

[1]See p. 86.

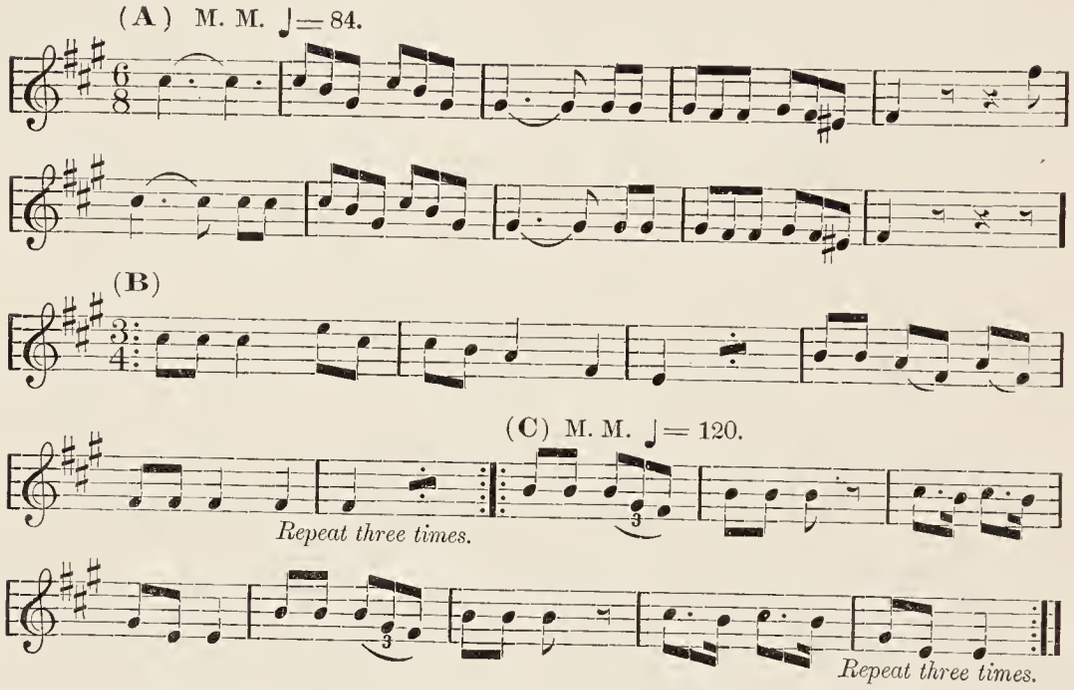
The syllables are:

(A) yó we dó na he·[1]

(B) hé go ya na hé·

7. Ba'té ctī. HORSE DANCE.[2]

In honor of the horse, ba' té, literally 'toe one,' the Yuchi perform a propitiatory dance. The dancers trot around behind the leader who accompanies his song with a hand rattle. The drum is also beaten in time. At the end of the song they grunt like stallions.



The burden of this song is:

(A) he yó lī he, yá nī na, yó ha lé na.

(B) yó we he, we yó we hé$^{\varepsilon}$ e.

(C) yó wa lī, ha yá lī na, yá lī na.

[1]A dot after a vowel indicates extreme length.

[2]In p. 127 the Creek Horse Dance is given under the heading of a Yuchi dance. While many Creek songs are used at the Yuchi ceremonies, it will be seen from the above version, which was unavailable at the time of writing, that there is considerable difference between some of the Creek and Yuchi songs having the same name.

CREEK MEDICINE SONGS AND FORMULAS

The following medicine songs and formulas as well as the dance songs were obtained in 1905 by purchase from Kabi'tcīmáła, whose fame as a shaman or doctor was no less than his renown as dance leader and town chief.

A considerable proportion of the text material, and the information concerning the whole, has already been published in a general paper dealing with the ethnology of the Taskigi Creeks.[1] Since, however, it has become possible to have the music for the entire set of songs, transcribed, besides the texts of twice as many as at first, it seems advisable for the sake of completeness to incorporate in this paper the entire collection, including the data already presented together with the new information resulting from a more thorough acquaintance with the field.

As to the theory of disease we find that the Creeks hold ideas similar at bottom to those of most American tribes. Pain or disease, núkkī, is believed to be caused by some noxious matter or some disturbing influence transferred into the body of the sufferer by some animal, spirit or malevolent person. Animals are thought to be at times offended at the actions of people, for which they inflict disease. Besides, there are various classes of supernatural creatures, little people, sprites, monsters of water and earth, which are evilly disposed toward human beings, for which reason they in turn inflict disease. And lastly there are people who to revenge themselves, or, for personal reasons, are either able by themselves to inflict disease by magic means or, lacking the power, hire a shaman to do it for them. According to the origin myth (see p. 237) when the various animals and creatures, during the mythical age, arbitrarily introduced disease upon the earth they incidentally agreed to make cures or medicines, consisting of song formulas which appeal to the animal or spirit causers and herb medicines or magic objects which are steeped in a decoction and drunk by the sufferer to act through sympathetic magic objectively upon the disease. The causes embrace, as will be seen from the myth, a variety of creatures and objects: panther, wildcat, cat, bear, hog, raccoon, opossum, sky hog (a sidereal being ?), horse, beaver, otter, dog, deer, yearling deer, bird, owl, turkey, buzzard, fish, snakes in general, water moccasin, water wolf (evidently some reptile) and rattle snake. Other more general animal causes are small water creatures, seashore creatures, water creatures, and game animals, while besides there are,

[1]See M.A.A.A. pp. 121-133.

rainbow, spirits, living people, what is inside of you, fire, and various kinds of dirt or earth.[1] The knowledge of the proper songs and the herbs or magic objects to go with them, as well as the power to diagnose the causes of disorder, was acquired by certain people in mythical times who have since transferred their pharmacopeia and secrets from generation to generation down to the present day. The practice of medicine with its secrets is now an activity retained in the possession of persons who have either actually invented outright their own songs, herb cures and treatments, or those who have inherited or bought the profession from another. There do not seem to be any particular religious restraints in connection with the ordinary medicine practice so far as I have learned, nor were there any medicine man's societies or organizations. Sometimes a man, having learned a few cures and operated them with success a few times, may decide to improve his opportunities, learn more and become a practitioner. From some well known shaman he may buy or learn some formulas and botanic secrets, which, together with a few inventions of his own, may earn him a fair reputation and establish him as a shaman, alíkdja, or owála,[2] or doctor in his town. Such in general was the career of Kabi'tcīmáła.

People when afflicted with sickness, unless they are able to treat themselves with some simples which are commonly known amongst them, pay a visit to some shaman to have the cause ascertained and removed. The shaman's method of procedure is, in general, about as follows: By secret means and a little well directed questioning he will determine what the trouble is and its nature, judging from the sufferer's symptoms. An exceptionally clever doctor can diagnose from personal effects, a shirt, hair and the like. When the complaint is understood he knows what creature is responsible. As will be seen from an inspection of the list of symptoms and assigned causes, the method of diagnosis seems to be backward, tracing the trouble to some creature with whom the same symptoms are characteristic. For instance, indigestion is attributed to the hog, who is a notorious glutton; sleeplessness is attributed to the raccoon whose habit is to roam at night, whose eyes are deeply ringed from lack of sleep; colic and flatulency are attributed to the horse, who is naturally prone to the same; rheumatism in one form is blamed upon fawns or yearling deer whose gait indicates stiffness of the joints; while diarrhea is traced to birds and constipation to the beaver, from the quality of their respective excrements. In not all of the cases, however, is the line of connection clear. Accordingly the shaman, having ascertained the cause, and knowing what medicinal agents go with the formula to charm away the trouble, proceeds to gather his herbs and steep them in a pot of water. The interesting notion of sympathetic influence

[1]This has particular reference to the earth dug out of graves, which is thought to convey rheumatism through contact. Different colored clays and soils are also meant.

[2]Also hílis háya, "medicine maker."

runs all through these as well. We find, for instance, that among the herbs used in the decoctions, most of them, either in form or in name, are connected like fetishes with the cause. So for indigestion caused by the hog, a plant called 'hog ear' is used; for rheumatism caused by the deer, 'deer potato' is used; for headache caused by the sun, sunflower is used; for diarrhea caused by birds, a bird's nest is used, and so on. While the connection between many of the vegetable substances and the causes, in name at least, is quite apparent, there are nevertheless some in which it is quite obscure, and it is among these latter that we meet with some herbs which are medicinally effective. The

Fig. 3.—Shaman's Medicine Pot.

interesting problem of origin here presents itself, in discussion of which it seems plausible that with the accidental discovery of the beneficial effects of certain herbs, like wild cherry bark for colds, red willow for a physic, and ginseng for a narcotic, the beginnings of pharmaceutics had developed from the use of what were originally mere fetishes. I may, indeed, be underrating the actual virtues of some of these quasi-scientific herb remedies. Some of them are known and employed for similar troubles not only by distant Indian tribes but by white country folk who have evidently acquired them from the Indians in colonial times. In the medicine practices of neighboring southern tribes as well as Cherokee,[1] Yuchi,[2] Chickasaw, and undoubtedly others when we know more

[1]Cf. Mooney, "Sacred Formulas of the Cherokee," Seventh Annual Rep. Bur. Amer. Ethnology (1885-6). This material, offering the only source so far available in comparing southern practices, is on the whole fundamentally similar to the Creek. The Cherokee medicine origin myth (*ibid.*, p. 319) is distantly similar. The formulas, however, are not sung. A discussion of the medicinal properties of the herbs concerned (*ibid.*, p. 328) is given by Mooney.

[2]See p. 132. With the above, the Osages, Kansas and neighboring southern plains tribes (Cf. "Manners and Customs of Several Indian Tribes," etc. J. D. Hunter, Phila., 1823, pp. 368-402), and the Ojibways (Cf. The "Midéwiwin," etc., of the Ojibway, W. J. Hoffman, Seventh Annual Rep. Bur. Amer. Ethnology, 1885-6) present certain similarities in the use of herbs.

about them, the use of herbs is found associated with the idea that 'like cures like,' under various guises with different details.

The shaman then, after collecting his medicines and steeping them in a pot of water (Fig. 3), produces his blow-pipe (Fig. 4), a section of cane about thirty inches in length, and, in the secrecy of his private quarters, lest someone else learn the procedure, sings a magic song or repeats a formula over the draught, between verses giving the decoction a blowing through the pipe to make it bubble up with air. The virtue of the song is thought to be transferred into the medicine, hili'swa, which is then ready to be administered to the patient internally and sometimes externally too. According to Kabi'tcīmáła the shaman's purpose is to throw the disease out of the sufferer into some animal,but not the one that causes it, lest he send it back with doubled severity. In regard to the words of the songs little in detail can be said. In most cases they express disconnected ideas, sometimes descriptive of the animal cause, sometimes as though the shaman were describing its movements which he is watching from a distance. Frequently the song is more of a petition, with a

Fig. 4.—Shaman's Blowing Tube.

reverential tone, acting upon the sympathies of the causing agent, while again it may contain slurs and ridicule. A most important feature, however, is the cardinal symbolism which is commonly repeated in conjunction with the name of the animal cause. The number four probably derived from this source dominates in Creek ritual. North, Kasapō'fa, 'where it is cold,' is black; South, nigátōfa, 'where it burns (?),' is red; East, hasósa, 'sunrise,' is white, and West, hasakalátka, 'sun sinks into the water,' is yellow.

Shamans expect payment when their cures have been successful, the amount generally depending upon the generosity of their patients. They are said to be hired sometimes to cause disease in others, not infrequently having been known to do so of their own accord for personal reasons. When accused of using their powers in this direction it was customary formerly to put them to death. As with other tribes, Creek shamans often held contests to test their powers with rivals. Love and hunting songs as well as charms are, nowadays as in the past, dealt in by them.

The professional paraphernalia of the Creek medicine man consisted simply of pottery vessels, a cane blow-pipe or two and quantities of dried roots, leaves, bark, twigs and the like. These objects, however, were not preserved with any particular reverence, the whole shamanistic practice among the Taskigi lacking the highly colored ceremonial side so strong among the plains tribes.

Regarding the texts themselves it should be noted that the grammatical forms are in many places mutilated by assimilation, dissimilation, elision, change of accent and vowel length, to accommodate the words to the music, or through conventionality in utterance.

The texts in a good many instances were by no means clear to the informant himself, evidently having suffered through considerable 'shaman's license,' in consequence of which they, and the translations, are given as recorded without any attempt to harmonize them.

The following collection of songs represents a portion of the property of one shaman and probably contains much that is purely individual matter.

1. Súkha alē′dja. HOG THE CAUSE.

Indigestion is caused by the hog, súkha. As a medicine to be drunk by the patient the whole plant of súkha hátsko, 'hog ear' (Hierocicum scouleri), is steeped in the vessel of water. The magic blowing is accompanied by the following song. In this formula we have an excellent example of the association of three ideas according to Creek philosophy, the hog's gluttony, human indigestion, and the curative property of some plant having a name connected with that of the hog. Neither the text nor the translation lay claim to correctness throughout owing to the rapidity of utterance and indistinctness.

Djī′mundáhalī′nomī′ (repeated to the sixth bar, then followed by the rest.)

your superiority, as it were.
súkha djūlī.
hog old male.

ya wákla dī′.
here he was lying.
ī′laga dji′nomī′.
stretched out, we seem to see him.
dji hówehi′.
your calling (grunting).
hi′lī hi′djinomī′.
foot (we) seem to see him.
ī′lada′łī dji′nomī′.
hungry, he roams about, (we) seem to see him.
álaga djínomī′.
stretched out, (we) seem to see him.
nánuckágo hayándomī′.
evil conjuring he seems to be making.
djīmundáhalīnomī′ (repeated in the last two bars)
your superiority, as it were.

$A^{n\prime}$ $A^{n\prime}$ $A^{n\prime}$ imitating hogs grunting at the end.

Other verses of this formula are the same in all but the first invocatory words, having in the second, instead of súkha djū′lī, 'hog old male,' as in the verse given above, adjū′lī lánī, 'old male yellow,' in the third adjū′lī lástī, 'old male black,' in the fourth adjū′lī tcā′dī 'old male red,' and in the last adjū′lī hátkī, 'old male white.'

2. Itcā′swalē′dja. Beaver the Cause.

The beaver, itcā′swa, is considered to be the cause of constipation and soreness of the bowels. The character of the beaver's excrement is thought to be an evidence that he suffers with the complaint which at times he inflicts upon people. A decoction of the roots of akhátka, 'in the water white,' identified as sycamore (Platanus occidentalis), and akdjilaláska, said to be red birch (Betula nigra) is used for medicine. The songs employed to charge the medicine are four in number, each addressed to a different animal though related, in the native classification, to the beaver. This formula is quite a long, though a monotonous one, as there are four verses to each song.

M. M. ♩ = 188.

The words of the verse are:

lä′gadihī′ ónabahā′ (repeated a number of times.)
he was sitting above.
wahála ᵉahā′.
south.
dja′di ᵉahā′.
red.
itcā′swa ᵉahā′.
beaver.
ilī′dja ᵉahā′.
he kills.
iliá ᵉahā′.
he dies.

The first song consists of the above repeated four times, the second, third and fourth verses indicating the cardinal points and their symbolism. So the rest of the verses have, in their second and third lines, respectively

hasakalátka lā′nī ᵉahā′, (the next)
west yellow.
honī′ła′ ᵉahā′ la′sti ᵉahā′, (and the last)
north black.
hasō′sa ᵉahā′ hátki ᵉahā′.
east white.

Each of the three succeeding songs are the same as the above in all except the animal invoked in the fourth line. Where the above has itcā′swa, beaver, the second has osā′nna, 'otter,' the third has oksútko, muskrat, and the last has sagí' pa, ermine or stoat.

3. Tcítto alē′dja. Snake the Cause.

Aching teeth and gums and swollen cheeks are caused by ahálasakáda, the water moccasin (Ancistrodon piscivorus). The analogy between the complaint and the cause, in the swollen poison glands and distended cheeks of this snake, is a close and interesting one. In the objects constituting the medicine too, there is a close imaginary connection with the trouble-producing snake. These are a handful of ído lígwī, 'wood rotten,' and dried leaves, ídiwíssī, 'tree hair,' put in water, blown into, and given to the patient to drink. The ideas of sympathetic magic operate through the resemblance between the snake's form and the tree twigs, its color and the dried leaves.

The charm formula begins with a spoken part, as follows:

nínoxkulúlwa[1] dī.
in the path he was coiled up.
dómahasokúlulut dī.
on a long stick he was coiled up (?).
wīyófobákolulut dī.
on the edge of the water he was coiled up (?)

[1] x represents a soft palatal spirant.

dīháksamóxkululut ogadī.
around a tree branch he was coiled, it was said.
dīhaugisókolúlut dī.
on a hollow tree he was coiled up.
sifsífkit os.
he hisses continuously.
yilagá hágadī'.
lying he made a noise.
djadáphadés.
stone is in the grass.
hīyóxpidadägit.
here coiled up.
yilagá hágadī'
lying he made a noise.
dómahásin.
on a long stick.
īyóxpidadä'git.
here coiled up.
yílaga' hágadī'.
lying he made a noise.
nénahássin.
in the sunny path.
īyóxpidadä'gade.
here coiled up.
sifsk!
hiss!

This is concluded with the subjoined song:

The words are yilagá hágadī, as above, repeated over and over again, occasionally varied with īyóxkolólo hágadī,' 'here coiled he made a noise.' Prolonged hissing ends the charm.

4. Fúswalē'dja. BIRD THE CAUSE.

Birds, fúswa, in general, cause nausea, gripes and diarrhea. The shaman prepares a medicine by steeping some kind of a bird's nest, fus imbognága, in water and blowing into it through his tube, between repetitions of the following song. The patient then has to drink the medicine as usual.

M. M. ♩ = 126.

Repeat twice.

The words of the charm are:

hágidosī'.
they chatter.
hágidáłitógī hagī'.
they chatter and flutter about.
hágidosī' (repeated a number of times).
they chatter.

idA'lwa lä'git áyamó.
their settlement is here.
fulótkit á‡idogī.
gathering together they make a fluttering noise.
djil' djil djil' djil.
martin martin.
hágidosī' hágidosī'.
they chatter they chatter.

At the end of the song the singer imitates the blue jay, tási, with *tins ti^{n}s* in a deep voice. A variation occurs in the second repetition in the shape of

īdalégomA'lga.
grouped together all.
īsósīye dalégosin.
[in the] ashes withering (?)

5. Iganúkkī yahai'gīda.[1] HEADACHE SONG.

The deer, ī'djo, are believed to cause headache. One of the most important herbs in the Creek pharmacopeia, namely mikoanī'dja, 'chief physic' (a species of Salix), possibly red willow, is used in the cure. The root is brewed to the accompaniment of the following song. The shaman repeats the song four times, between each rendering the concoction is given a good blowing through the medicine pipe. The sufferer, then, has to drink quantities of the medicine and have some blown over his head by the shaman. This draught acts both as an emetic and physic, being very commonly used as such by the Creeks, Chickasaw and Yuchi, and no doubt other southern tribes, in their annual harvest ceremony.[2] This song embodies an analogy between a pain in the head and congestion as of clouds in the sky. The shaman invokes the oppressing clouds, of various colors according to the cardinal symbolism, ordering them to scatter.

[1]Literally. 'Head sick, to sing.'

[2]Cf. p. 116, and M.A.A.A. p. 137, and Notes on Chickasaw Ethnology and Folk Lore, F. G. Speck, Journal of American Folk-Lore, vol. xx, 1907.

The words are:

hyawáhīyē′ (repeated four times before, and several times after, each
scatter. of the following lines.)

ahólodjē láni des awáhin.
clouds yellow these scatter.
hólodjē djádi des awáhin.
clouds red these scatter.
hólodjē lásti des awáhin.
clouds black these scatter.
hólodjē hátki des awáhin.
clouds white these scatter.

Were we to substitute in imagination the cardinal directions invoked by the colors we should have, in the order given above, west, south, north and east.

6. Hássi alē′dja. Sun the Cause.

This is also a headache song where the cause of the trouble is believed to be the sun, hássi. The blossoms of hássi yahā′gi, 'looks toward the sun,' or 'sun likeness,' Sunflower (Helianthus annuus ?), are the ingredients of the medicine prepared by the shaman. The following song is sung four times, between each repetition the medicine is given a violent blowing.

The words are:

sīwā′ (repeated twelve times before, and six times after each of the
scatter. following lines.)

nítta hássi.
day sun.
níłī hássi.
night sun.
kolásłobótskī.
stars little.

The shaman invokes the sun, moon (referred to as night sun) and the stars to dispel the trouble.

7. I′djo alē′dja. DEER THE CAUSE.

Swelling boils on the body and limbs are believed to be caused by the deer, ī′djo. The shaman prepares a mixture of atcína, cedar leaves (Chamaecyparis thyoides), and ī′djo máha, 'deer potato' (Licinaria scariosa). The root of the latter is a bulb and both this and the leaves are used. I obtained several songs for this trouble, the first two being quite a little alike.

M. M. ♩= 132.

The whole repeat eight times.

The words of this song are:

hā′finonogī′ī hídjinomī′ī (repeated throughout the song.)
his feet he patters, [we] see him, as it were.

8. DEER THE CAUSE.

M. M. ♩= 112.

Repeat eight times.

In this version the words are:

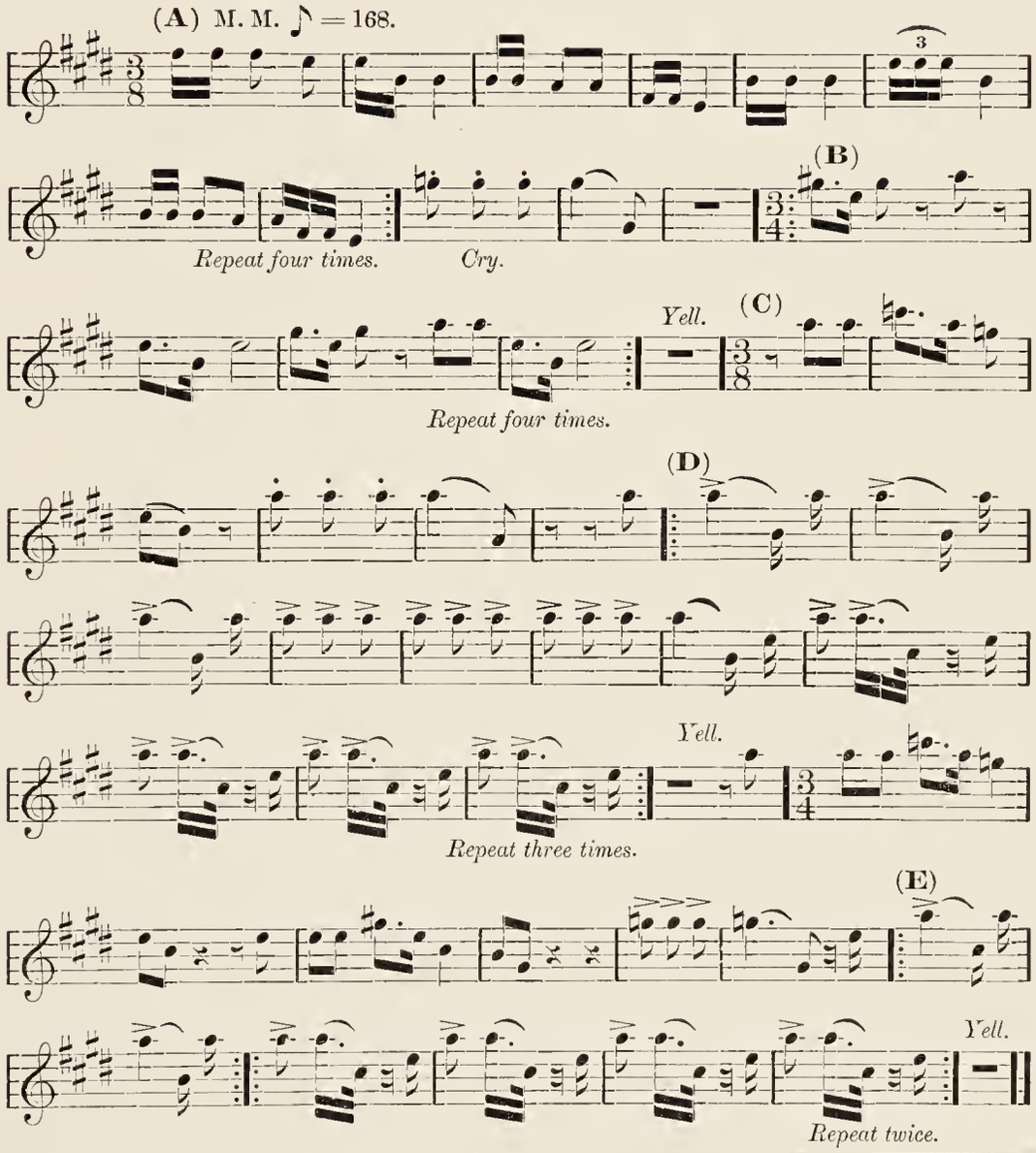
hā′finonogī′ī hídjinomī′ī (repeated to the seventh bar twice, then
his feet he patters [we] see him, as it were. followed by the rest).

djo mī′ko lánudjī.
deer chief yellow little.
hidjódjides yawákladī.
[we] see him, here he was lying.
hī′ya ā′sasálgosan.
here we run him.
ya hwī′lidálin ómasdjē′.
here he stood [and] wandered about, so it seems,

There are four more verses to this song which are the same as the above in all but the first line of the formula in which mention is made of the deer. Where djo mī′ko lánudjī stands in the first verse, the second has ī′djo adjū′li, 'old male deer,' the third has ī′djo djofa′gana, 'yearling deer (in his virile period),' the fourth has ī′djo kola′swa,[1] 'deer mother,' and the fifth, ī′djúdji, 'little deer.'

9. Deer the Cause.

This is another quite different song which is also used in removing some trouble brought on by the deer. Unfortunately, however, no further information can be given with it.



[1]This is an archaic word, the modern being ítski.

The meaningless syllables of this song are:
(A) yá li he ho ya$^{ɛ\prime}$ li he ye he he he (repeated four times.)
(B) yâ′ ^{ɛ}o ha (repeated four times.)
(C) ya ná ni ho ^{ɛ}o ho.
(D) ihā′· hī′· ohōī′·
oho$^{ɛ\prime}$ hōī′ oho$^{ɛ\prime}$ hōī (repeated a number of times.)
(alternating with)
ihā′· hē′· ohōī′·
he yō′· hé (repeated a number of times.)
(E) ya ná le ha há no he ya (repeat twice.)

10. I′djo lowági alē′dja. YEARLING DEER THE CAUSE.

Swollen joints and stiff muscles, suggestive of rheumatism, are caused by yearling deer, īdjo lowágī, literally 'deer tender, or nimble,' or ī′djudjī, 'little deer,' referring to yearlings. The notion of rheumatism is evidently associated with the stiff gait of the fawns. As a cure the shaman employs atcína, cedar leaves which are steeped in water and blown into between the six verses of the following song.

Repeat six times.

The words are:
īdjódjīyä (repeat six times.)
little deer.
īnádades.
the game animals.
lowágofAn.
when they are tender.
tcafíknosīd.
being healthy.
ałī′bofAn.
when they wander about.
īdjódjīyä (repeat six times.)
little deer.

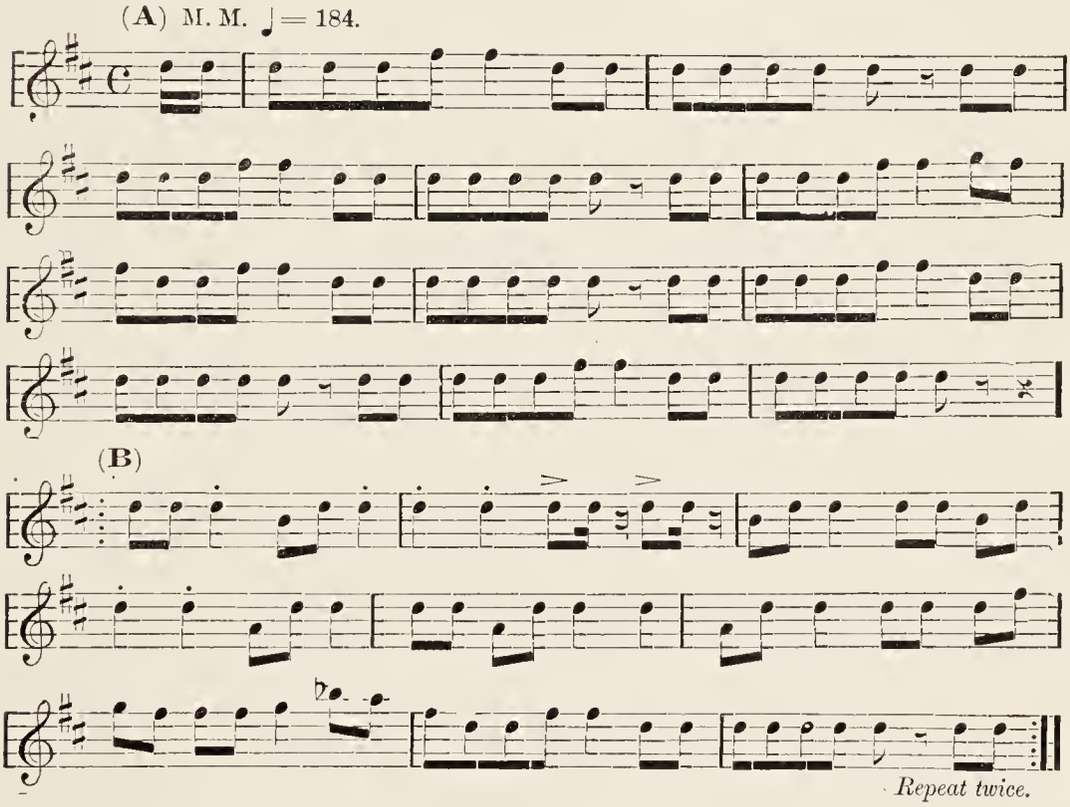
The other five verses of this song are the same as the above except for the first two words. Accordingly only the parts that are different will be given.

īdjódjides (repeat six times.)
the little deer.
īláksides.
his hoofs.
(repeat the last four lines of preceding verse.)
īdjódjides (repeat six times.)
the little deer.
īsúksodes.
his loins.
(repeat as above.)

The next three verses are the same as the preceding except in the second line where different parts of the fawn are mentioned, in the following order īláfanī, 'his back bone,' īnádjides, 'his vital parts,' ī'gades, 'his head.' The song then ends with the exclamations dogō'! dogō'! īdjō'djiyä', 'little deer,' and a long cry, ī^{n}wā^{n}! imitating the cry of the fawn.

11. Nókusī alē'dja. Bear the Cause.

The bear, nókusī, is thought to cause nausea and diarrhea. The plant used by the shaman is one called wīlána, 'in the water yellow' (Chenopodium anthelminticum.) The whole plant is steeped in water and the decoction given to the patient.



The meaningless syllables of this song down to (B) are hīya nó, ho ga nī'. At (B) words are introduced which, in part, are

idalégomA'lga.
grouped together all.
isósīye dalégosin.
[in the] ashes withering (?)

The last few bars are sung to the meaningless syllables as above, and the whole song ends with a deep ho' imitating a bear.

12. Poyafi'kdja alē'dja. SPIRIT THE CAUSE.

The spirits of dead people, poyafi'kdja, literally 'our spirits,' referring to dead ancestors, who have not reached the home of the spirits, are thought to wander about the earth inflicting fever in its various forms. The medicines steeped by the shaman for this trouble were given as kofA'tska, peppermint (Mentha (sp.?) and ahálbakstcē', 'potato very straight (?),' said to be Life-everlasting (Gnaphalium (sp.?)). There are ten verses to this song, between each of which the medicine is given a blowing. The song invokes the troublesome spirit, mentioning his defunct relatives with the idea of obtaining his mercy in some way through his affection for them.

The wording is as follows: The portion (A) is sung to djídjíweɹegē', without specified meaning, repeated up to the last bar. The last bar of (A) differs with every verse, a different relative receiving mention in each. In their given order the terms are:

djítskī ī'ladī.
your mother is dead.
djīyo'ban ī'ladī.
your child is dead.
dji'łkī ī'ladī.
your father is dead.
djīłáha ī'ladī.
your elder brother (or sister) is dead.

djīdjósī īladī.
your younger brother (or sister) is dead.
djīdjiłwa ī'ladī.
your clan brother (or sister) is dead
djitskúdji ī'ladī.
your mother's sister (little mother) is dead.
djibáwa ī'ladī.
your mother's brother is dead.
djībo'si ī'ladī.
your grandmother is dead.
djībō'dja ī'ladī.
your grandfather is dead.

The last portion of the song (B) which is sung only twice is worded,

talókilins.
withered up.
djiłā'fAni.
your back bone.
wogódjweī'djayándomī.
made to crumble, it seems to be.
djīgā'fAni.
your head bone (skull).

13. łáło alē'dja. FISH THE CAUSE.

The various kinds of fish, łáło, cause sleeplessness, through some obscure train of association in the native mind. The plant used in curing the trouble is hílis hátkī, 'medicine white,' or ginseng (Panax quinquefolium), a well known narcotic. A decoction of the root is steeped and a portion of the root is sometimes chewed. A forked piece of root is preferred for medicine, often going under the designation of 'man root', from its resemblance to the human body and legs.

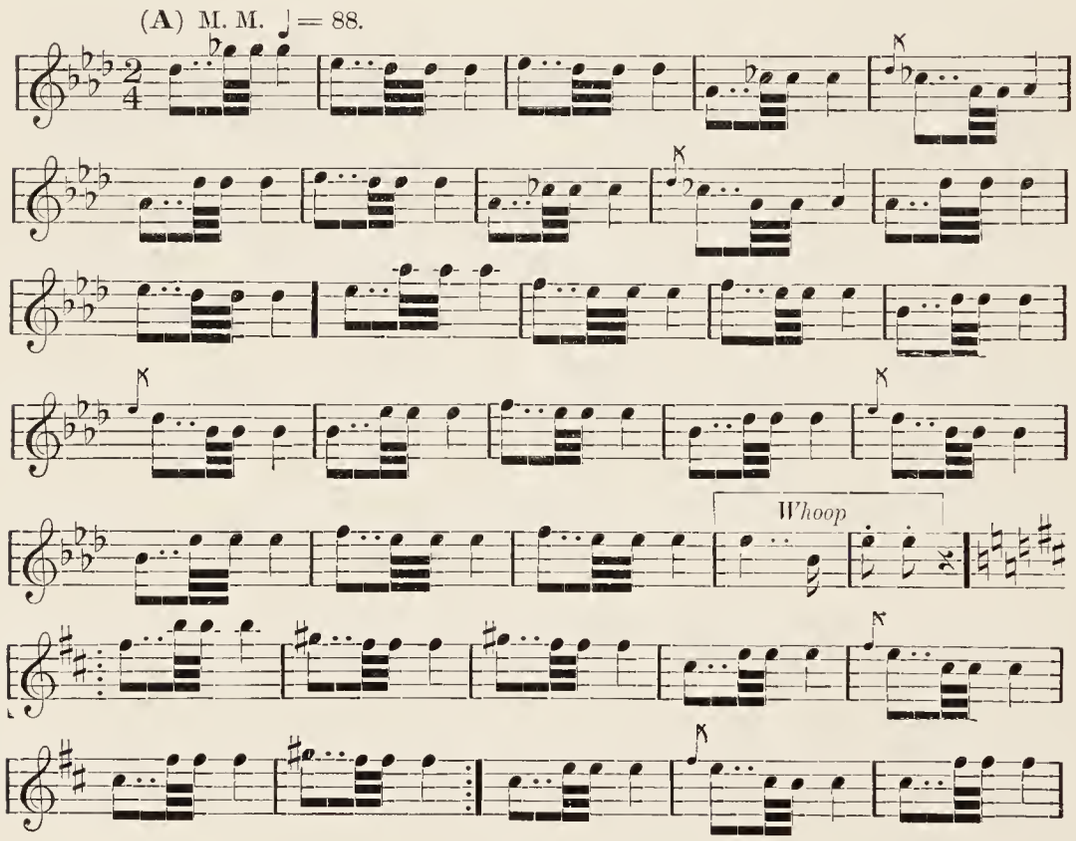
The words of the first part (A), consisting mostly of meaningless syllables, are:

láni oho.
yellow.
helegwadóha.
hédonīhé.

There are three other verses worded the same except in the first line where tcádī, 'red,' lástī, 'black,' and hátkī, 'white,' are substituted for láni. The wording of the second part (B) is lacking.

14. Hilúdja isfága. Turtle Hunting Medicine.

A cold in the lungs, accompanied by coughing and, rather strangely, by sores on the limbs and neck as described by Kabítcīmála, is attributed to the turtle, hilúdja. What the sympathetic connection is between this creature and a cold, is very obscure. A handful of tofa'mbī, wild cherry bark, is boiled and sweetened as a medicine. The term hilúdja isfága, literally 'turtle means of hunting,' used as the name of this cure, refers to the medicine's function in hunting out and finding the turtle to induce him to remove the trouble. The song is rendered four times, with blowing into the medicine during the intervals.



The syllables of the portion labelled (A) are:

yá nī yä hä′. At (B) the turtle is invoked with the four cardinal colors, with the words as follows:

hilúdja lanī′.
turtle yellow.
hilúdja hatkī′.
turtle white.
hilúdja lastī′.
turtle black.
hilúdja tcadī′.
turtle red.

The song ends with numerous repetitions of the meaningless syllables as in (A).

15. Tcítto hilíswa isfága. Snake Medicine Hunting.

Snakes, tcítto (singular), cause swellings on the face and limbs. The leaves and twigs of cedar, atcína, are steeped and given the patient to drink. The song used to charm the decoction is as follows:

Repeat four times.

The words of the first part (A) are:

lánī ohó.
yellow.
tcádī ohó.
red.
lástī ohó.
black.
hátki ohó.
white.

These words are repeated in rotation until the eighth bar where the cry ha hē′ hyā′ hya is given.

The second part of the song (B) is rather different from the first, the words being as follows:

lánī we hé (twice.)
yellow.
yábidasím.
creeps (?)
lánagi hé.
yellow spotted.
tcádī we hé (twice.)
red.
yábidasím.
creeps (?)
tcádagi hé.
red spotted.
lástī we hé (twice.)
black.
yábidasím.
creeps (?)
lásladi hé.
black spotted.
hátkī we hé (twice.)
white.
yábidasím.
creeps (?)
háthagī hé.
white spotted.

The last bar has the cry ha hē, hya hya, ending the song.

16. Tcítto súlga. ALL THE SNAKES.

The following formula is not accompanied by complete information, as will be seen. Kabítcimáła referred to an old story regarding the monster described, but was only concerned with the practical curative aspect of the matter, in consequence of which merely the song, the herbs and the scant information given here were obtainable.

Swellings in the legs, evidently of a rheumatic nature, producing serious lameness, are caused by a monster snake thought to be between twenty and thirty feet in length. The creature is armed with horns on its head and dwells or dwelt in a deep pool of water. Such monsters are quite common in the myths of the Creeks and other southeastern tribes.[1] The herbs steeped to make the medicine are the roots of akhátka, 'in water white,' sycamore; akdjilaláska, birch; akwá'na, willow. Added to the above are: ído lígwī, 'wood rotten', meaning ordinary dead sticks of a finger's thickness, the form of which resembles snakes and has, in consequence, a sympathetic influence with them.

This formula begins with quite a long and very rapidly spoken part, which, unfortunately, was not taken down at the time. The only words of this part audible on the phonograph is the snatch ákalī tcádī, '(?) red,' repeated a number of times.

[1] This is probably the same as the Tie-Snake mentioned in Creek mythology. Cf. M.A.A.A., p. 156, "Rabbit Outwits Tie-Snake."

The first part of this song (A) is sung very rapidly to words repeated over and over again. At (B) the meaningless syllables ho yā′ nī wē′ are used.

17. Wīyogóf yahá alē′dja.

In the Water, Wolf the Cause.

Nausea, gripes and dysentery are caused by a creature called wīyogóf yaha, 'in the water, wolf.' Just what this animal is could not be explained, nor could I ascertain whether it was a mythical monster or an animal, reptile or fish in existence to-day.[1]

The roots of wī′sū, sassafras (Sassafras sassafras) are steeped as a medicine. The following song is repeated a number of times, while between each rendering the medicine is given a violent blowing through the shaman's tube.

The first ten bars (A) are sung to the syllables dandayī′, which were said to be without meaning, yet it is significant to notice that the last two syllables, dayī, denote pain.

The second part (B) is sung to the words:

wīyogō′fa.
in the water
yaha lánī.
wolf yellow
łágwīlágāgadī
they are two big ones (?)[2]

---

[1]It might be suggested that the Mud Puppy (Amblystoma (Sp. ?)) may be meant by wī yogóf yaha, if we modify the name slightly to wī yogofki (muddy water) yaha (wolf).

[2]Translations such as these were offered by Kabítcimála when the texts were being recorded. As they were almost incapable of analysis and unintelligible to other interpreters, evidently the informant himself was the only one who could understand them.

łīī^{e} ilabátkin.
(?) on the shore
łīī^{e} isohō′seyē.
coming from the ashes
yosō′fa hī′ladi.
in ashes he di d.

The song then ends with ī′ladī, wo‘ wo‘ ohō′!, ‘he died, wo‘ wo‘ ohō′! (imitating feigned sad wailing).

The following are a few medicinal formulas similar in every respect to the preceding with the exception, however, that instead of being sung, they are repeated in a monotonous sing-song tone.

18. łákko alē′dja, Horse the Cause.

Swelling of the abdomen and numbness are caused by the horse, łákko. The trouble is evidently akin to colic, the sympathetic relations being quite obvious. A drink is made of four corn cobs, tálabī, about four inches long, soaked in water. The medicine is given a good blowing between the repetitions of this formula. The formula is pronounced rapidly in a rhythmic sing-song tone.

ya	hʌ′mba	lága	hi dī′	(repeated four times).
this	eater	glutton		
ya	hʌ′mba	láni	hi dī′	“
this	eater	yellow		
ya	hʌmba	djádī	hi dī′	“
this	eater	red		
ya	hʌ′mba	lásti	hi dī′	“
this	eater	black		
ya	hʌ′mba	hátki	hi dī′	“
this	eater	white		
wákkoī′dja	dī′			“
he lay down				
tím tī′dja	dī′			“
he made a great din				

The formula ends with two or three whinnies in imitation of a horse when he rolls over on his back and kicks his heels in the air.

19. Wótko alē′dja. Raccoon the Cause.

Sleeplessness and sadness are caused by the raccoon, wótko, who is himself always roaming about at night and grieving, as is shown by the white circles around his eyes. The plant used to cure the trouble is tohílīgo, ‘plant without feet,’ or mistletoe (Phoradendron flavescens), which grows high up on trees near the rivers. The raccoon is thought to associate with this plant. During the preparation of the medicine it is blown into between the verses of the follow-

ing formula. All the animals mentioned after the raccoon in the fourth, fifth and sixth verses are likewise night prowlers and doleful in mien. The greater portion of the translation offered is only approximate.

ai ha'' ai ha'' ai ha'' ai ha''.
wótko hoktálwa.
raccoon female
dałánī.
eye yellow
po''yadjī lä'gat.
mourning, lying stretched out
ikdē'mat.
(?)
alík dA'sha.
weak jumper (?)
ai ha'' ai ha'' ai ha'' ai ha''.

Five other verses are just the same as the foregoing except in the first word. The second verse begins with wótko djū'lī, 'old male raccoon', the third with wotkúdjī, 'little raccoon', the fourth with oktcútko lánī, 'muskrat yellow,' the fifth with halpáda lánī, 'alligator yellow,' and the sixth with tágo lánī, 'ground mole yellow'. The formula ends with the syllables 'wai' wai'' in a deep interrogative tone.

20. Kátcalē'dja. Wildcat the Cause.[1]

The different members of the cat family, pō'si, cat, kátca, wild cat, and koakúdjī, panther, cause nausea and gripes. The medicine used with the formula is made up of a number of plants, the names of which were not obtained, and called koákudjilíswa, 'panther, medicine.' The formula, spoken quite rapidly by the shaman, has a marked three-fourths rhythm, the words being as follows:

katcalē'dja dī'.
wild cat the cause
ī'ga łákko dī'.
head big
yûbo łákko dī'.
nose big
ído łákko dī.'
face big
tółwa łákko dī'.
eye big
hátsko łákko dī'.
ear big.

[1]M.A.A.A., 128.

nógwa łákko dī'.
neck big
łátsi łákko dī'.
throat big
ifúlwa łákko dī'.
his shoulder big
sákpa łákko dī'.
fore leg big
lī'dabiksī łákko dī'.
foot broad big
nádjī łákko dī'.
teeth big
hókpī łákko dī'.
breast big
łáfanī łákko dī'.
back bone big
inálkī łakko dī'.
his belly big
isûksī łákko dī'.
his buttocks big
iháfī łákko dī'.
his thigh big
īnádjałahi dī'.
body muscle
sákpadjałahi dī'.
fore leg muscle
hadjidjałáhi dī'.
tail muscle
hadjífana łī'djadī'.
tail bone it was under

There are two more verses to this formula which are different from the above only in the first word. The second verse begins with koakúdjī łákko dī', 'panther big', and the third with 'pósī łákko dī', 'cat big.'

The following tabular arrangement of the medicinal agencies, their identity, the troubles they are used for and the causes of the same, affords a more convenient résumé of the foregoing facts:

List of Plants and Medicinal Agents in the Formulas.

	Native name.	Translation.	English name.	Botanic name.	Diseases for which medicines are used.	Cause.
1	míkoanī'dja	chief physic	red willow	Salix tristis (?)	headache	deer.
2	atcína		cedar	Chamaecyparis thyoides	swollen joints; swellings on limbs; boils on body	deer, snakes.
3	ī'djo máha	deer potato	?	Licinaria scariosa	swollen joints; swellings on limbs; boils on body	deer.
4	hássi yahágī	sun, looks toward	sunflower	Helianthus annuus	headache	sun.
5	súkha hátsko	hog ear	hawkweed	Hierocicum scouleri	indigestion	hog.
6	akhátka	in water white	sycamore	Platanus occidentalis	constipation	beaver.
7	akdjílaláska		red birch	Betula nigra	constipation	beaver.
8	wīlána	in water yellow	worm seed	Chenopodium anthelminticum	diarrhea	bear.
9	tofa'mbi	wood, stinking	wild cherry	Cerasus serotina	cold in lungs	turtle.
10	akwá'na		willow	Salix (sp. ?)	rheumatism (with 6 and 7)	monster snake.
11	wī'sū		sassafras	Sassafras sassafras	nausea, gripes	water wolf.
12	kofa'tska		peppermint	Mentha (sp. ?)	fever	spirits.
13	ahálabakstcē	potato very straight	life everlasting	Gnaphalium (sp. ?)	fever	spirits.
14	tohílìgo	plant without feet	mistletoe	Phorodendron florescens	melancholy	raccoon.
15	koákudjíliswa	panther medicine	?		nausea, gripes	cat, panther.
16	hílis hátki	medicine white	ginseng	Panax quinquefolium	insomnia	fish.
17	fus imbognága	bird, his nest	bird's nest		diarrhea	birds.
18	ído lígwī	wood, rotten	dried twigs		rheumatism	monster snake.
19	idīwissī	tree hair	dried leaves		ulcerated teeth (with 18)	water moccasin.
20	talábi	withered stalk	corn cob		colic	horse.

ORIGIN OF DISEASES AND MEDICINES

Pómidjiskadjū'lagi Maskógi sihógof. I'djo alē'dja má'git
Our ancestors Muskogi when [they] Deer [the] causer, said
[lit. our 'old roots'] stood.
hilíswa háyadit ómisdjē'.[1] Kátca alē'dja mágit hilíswa háyadit
medicine made was. Wildcat causer, said medicine made
ómisdjē'. Mó'min hada'm nókusī alē'dja ómis mágit hilíswa
was. Then again bear causer was, said medicine
háyadit ómisdjē'. Hada'm tcítto alē'dja ómis mágit hilíswa
made was. Again snake causer was, said medicine
háyadit ómisdjē'. Mó'min hada'm sûkha lē'djat[2] o'mis mágit
made was. Then again hog causer was, said
hilíswa háyadit ómisdjē. Fúswa alē'djat ómis mágit hilíswa
medicine made was. Bird causer was, said medicine
háyadit ómisdjē'. Mó'min hada'm pósī alē'djat ómis mágit
made was. Then again cat causer was, said
hilíswa háyadit ómisdjē'. Mó'min hada'm łákko alē'djat ómis
medicine made was. Then again horse causer was,
mágit hilíswa háyadit ómisdjē. Mó'min itcáswa alē'djat ómis
said medicine made was. Then beaver causer was,
mágit hilíswa háyadit ómisdjē'. Mó'min hada'm ī'fa alē'djat
said medicine made was. Then again dog causer
ómis mágit hilíswa háyadit ómisdjē'. Mó'min hada'm osánna
was, said medicine made was. Then again otter
alēdjat omis mágit hilíswa háyadit ómisdjē'. Mó'min hada'm
causer was, said medicine made was. Then again
łáło alē'djat ómis mágit hi'liswa háyadit ómis djē'. Mó'min
fish causer was, said medicine made was. Then
hada'm ponáta alē'djat ómis mágit hilíswa háyadit ómis djē'.
again game causer was, said medicine made was.
animals[3]
Mó'min hada'm wīyístīt alē'djat ómis mágit hilíswa háyadit
Then again in water people causer was, said medicine made
ómisdjē'. Mó'min hada'm labátkadilógat ómis mágit hilíswa háyadit
was. Then again shore creatures was, said medicine made

[1]—dje', an emphatic sentence conclusion, corresponding to the English period.
[2]The *t* occurring in these forms is the subjective suffix.
[3]Refers to various edible animals.

ómisdjē.′ Mó‘min hadA′m [wi] ō′fadilógat ómis mágit hilis′wA
was. Then again sea creatures was, said medicine
háyadit ómisdjē′. Mó‘min hadA′m tcítto súlgat ómis mágit hilíswA
made was. Then again snake various was, said medicine
háyadit ómisdjē′. Mó‘min hadA′m óyákwilágī súlgat ómis mágit
made was. Then again in the water standing was, said
[creatures] various
hilíswA háyadit ómisdjē′. Mó‘min hadA′m óyákwīlákudjīt ómis
medicine made was. Then again in water standing was,
little [creatures]
mágit hilíswA háyadit ómisdjē′. Mó‘min hadA′m wótko alē′djat
said medicine made was. Then again raccoon causer
ómis, mágit hilíswa háyadit ómisdjē′. Mó‘min hadA′m sûkha hátka
was, said medicine made was. Then again opossum
[lit. ‘hog white’]
alē′djat ómis mágit hilíswA háyadit ómisdjē′. Mó‘min hadA′m
causer was, said medicine made was. Then again
sóda sûkhat alē′djat ómis mágit hilíswA háyadit ómisdjē′. Mó‘min
sky hog causer was, said medicine made was. Then
hadA′m óskindádjat alē′djat ō′s mágit hilíswA háyadit ómisdjē′.
again rainbow [lit. causer was, said medicine made was.
‘rain cutter’][1]
Mó‘min hadAm poyafíkdja alē′djat ómis magit hilíswA háyadit
Then again [our] spirit or soul causer was said medicine made
ómisdjē′. Mó‘min hadA′m íkano súlgī ómis mágit hilíswA háyadit
was. Then again earth various was, said medicine made
[kinds of]
ómisdjē′. Mó‘min hadA′m tútka modjása ingasúpīd ómis mágit
was. Then again fire new its cooling was, said
hilíswA háyadiţ ómisdjē′. Mó‘min hadA′m ikano súlgī súlgat ómis
medicine made was. Then again earth various classes was,
mágit hilíswA háyadit ómisdjē′. Mó‘min hadA′m sūlī alēdjat ómis
said medicine made was. Then again buzzard causer was,
mágit hilíswA háyadit ómisdjē′. Mó‘min hadA′m ístī winákīd
said medicine made was. Then again humans living
alēdjit ómis mágit hilíswA háyadit ómisdjē′. Mó‘min hadA′m
causer was, said medicine made was. Then again
kátcat alē′djit ō′s mágit hilíswA háyadit ómisdjē′. Mó‘min hadA′m
wild cat caused said medicine made was. Then again
pínwalē′djat ómis mágit hilíswA háyadit ómisdjē′. Mó‘min hadA′m
wild turkey was, said medicine made was. Then again
causer
wīyogō′f yahát alē′djit ō′s, magit hilíswA háyadit ómisdjē.′ Mó‘min
in water wolf caused, said medicine made was. Then

[1] The Creeks believe that the rainbow stretches across the sky and shuts off the descending rain.

hadA′m labátki yahát alē′djit ō′s, mágit hilíswA háyadit ómisdjē′.
again shore wolf caused, said medicine made was
Mó‘min hadA′m djō′hanágut alē′djit ō′s magit hilíswA háyadit
Then again curse caused, said medicine made
ómisdjē′. Mó‘min hadA′m teítto mī′kut alē′djit ō′s mágit hilíswA
was. Then again rattlesnake [lit. caused, said medicine
'snake chief'].
háyadit ómisdjē′. Mó‘min hadA′m ō′bō īalē′djat o′mis mágit hilíswA
made was. Then again owl its causer was, said medicine
háyadit ómisdjē′. Mó‘min hadA′m ádjīdí‘kat[1] ómis mágit hilíswA
made was. Then again what is inside of you [lit. 'towards you inside'] was, said medicine
háyadit ómisdjē′.
made was.

TRANSLATION.

Our ancestors the Muskogi were assembled long ago. The deer caused a certain sickness, then he said he would make the medicine for it. The wildcat caused a sickness, then said he would made the medicine for it. Then the bear caused a sickness and said he would make the medicine for it. Then the snake caused a sickness and said he would make the medicine for it. Next the hog made a sickness and said he would make the medicine for it. Again, the bird made a sickness and said he would make the medicine for it. Then the cat caused a sickness and said he would make the medicine for it. Then the horse made a sickness and said he would make the medicine for it. And the beaver made a sickness and said he would make the medicine for it. Then the dog caused a sickness and said he would make the medicine for it. Then the otter caused a sickness and said he would make the medicine for it. Then the fish caused a sickness and said he would made the medicine for it. Then again the game animals caused a sickness and said they would make the medicine for it. Then again, the people who live in the water made a sickness and said they would make the medicine for it. And the shore creatures made a sickness and said they would make the medicine for it. Then the sea creatures made a sickness and said they would make the medicine for it. And the various kinds of snakes caused a sickness and said they would make the medicine for it. And the various creatures standing in the water made a sickness and said they would make the medicine for it. Then the little creatures standing in the water made a sickness and said they would make the medicine for it. Then again the raccoon caused a sickness and said he would make the medicine for it. And the possum caused a sickness and said he would make the medicine for it. Then the sky hog caused a sickness and said he would make the medicine

[1]Also ánī adí‘kat, 'me inside.'

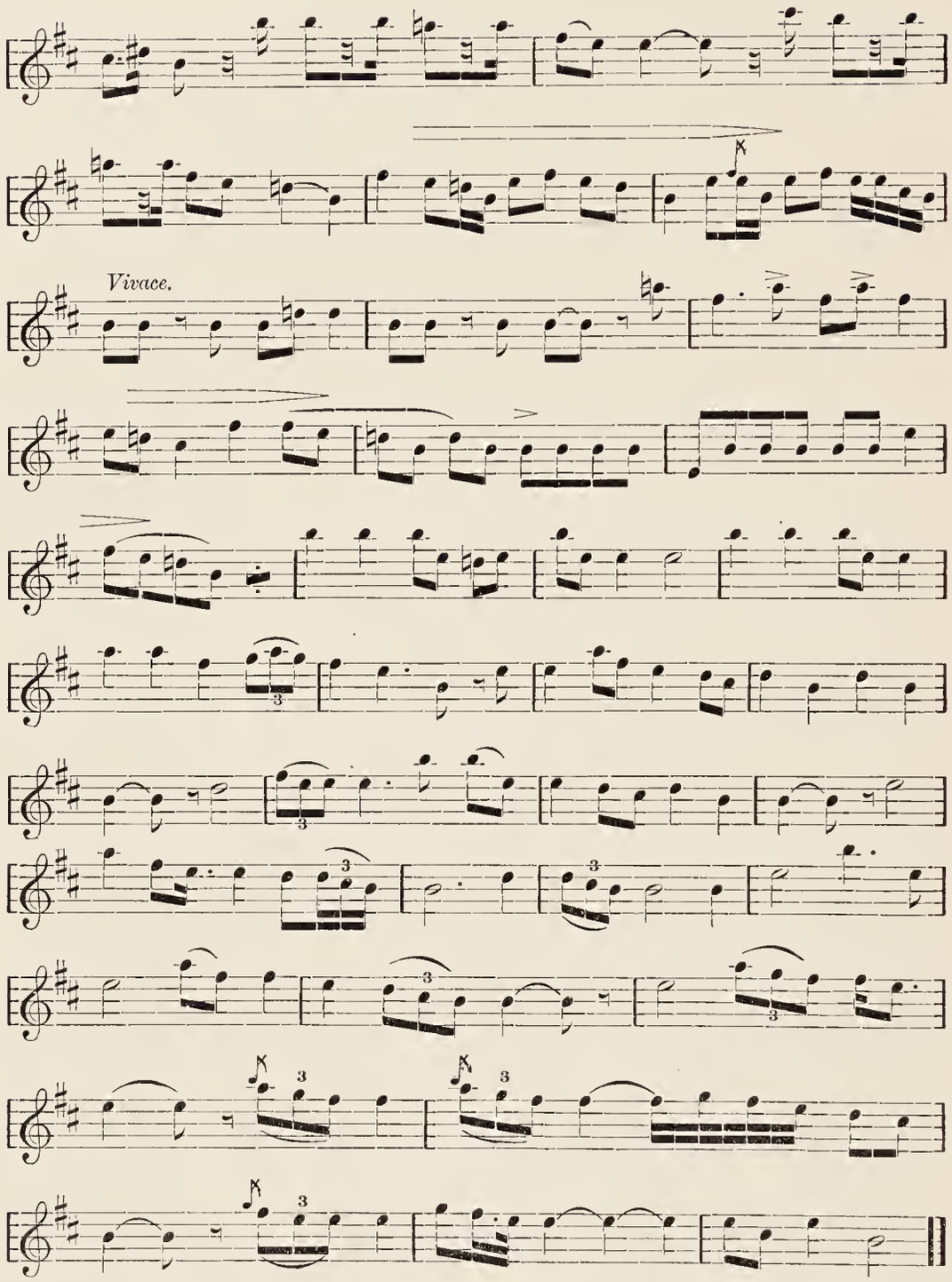
for it. And the rainbow caused a sickness and said he would make the medicine for it. Then the spirits or souls caused a sickness and said they would make the medicine for it. And the various kinds of earth made one and said they would make the medicine for it. Then again, the new fire made a sickness and said it would make the medicine for it. And again, the various classes of earth were the cause, and said they would make the medicine for it. Then the buzzard caused one and said he would make the medicine for it. Then again living people were the causes of sickness and said they would make the medicine for it. Then again the wildcat was a causer and said he would make the medicine for it. And again, the water wolf was the causer of one and said he would make the medicine for it. And the shore wolf caused one and said he would make the medicine for it. And then curse caused sickness and said he would make the medicine for it. Then the rattlesnake made a sickness and said he would make the medicine for it. Then the owl was the causer and said he would make the medicine for it. Then again what is inside of you was the causer and said it would make the medicine for it.

SHAWNEE LOVE SONGS

These two songs were sung by a Shawnee (Charley Wilson) of the band affiliated loosely with the Yuchi and Creeks since very early times and now with them in the northwestern part of the Creek Nation. The examples given are supposed to be typical of the songs current among the men about the village, used not only to arouse the emotions of their lovers, but as calls. They also represent the spontaneous outbursts of feeling to which lovers are thought to be subject. While both songs consist of mere burden syllables, there are in the second several places where the singer introduces a few impromptu expressions indicating the state of his feelings.

SHAWNEE LOVE SONG.

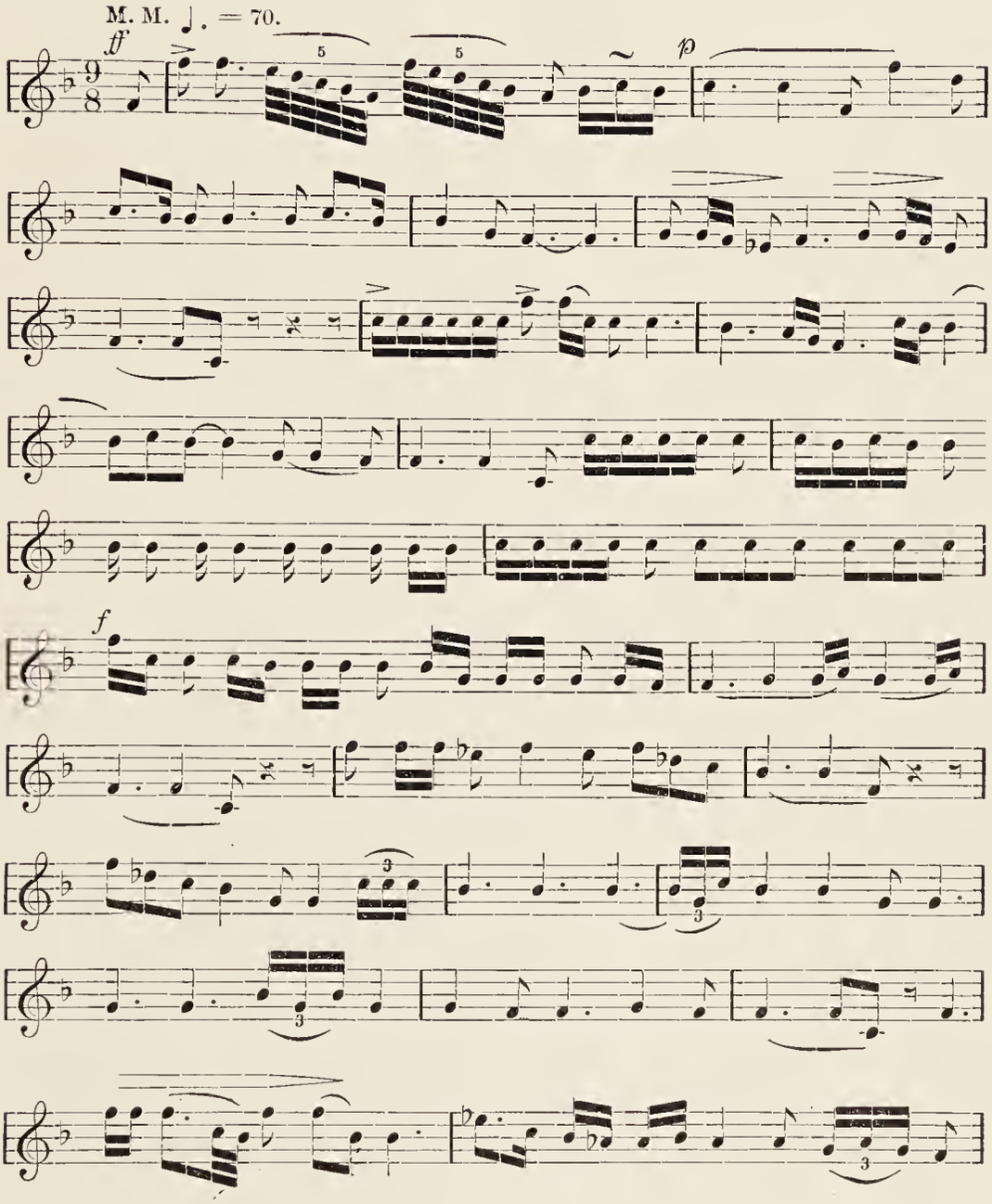
The syllables vary between gó hī yä′ hä, hó hī yä′ hä and yó′ ho wé hī ho, hó hī yä′ hä.

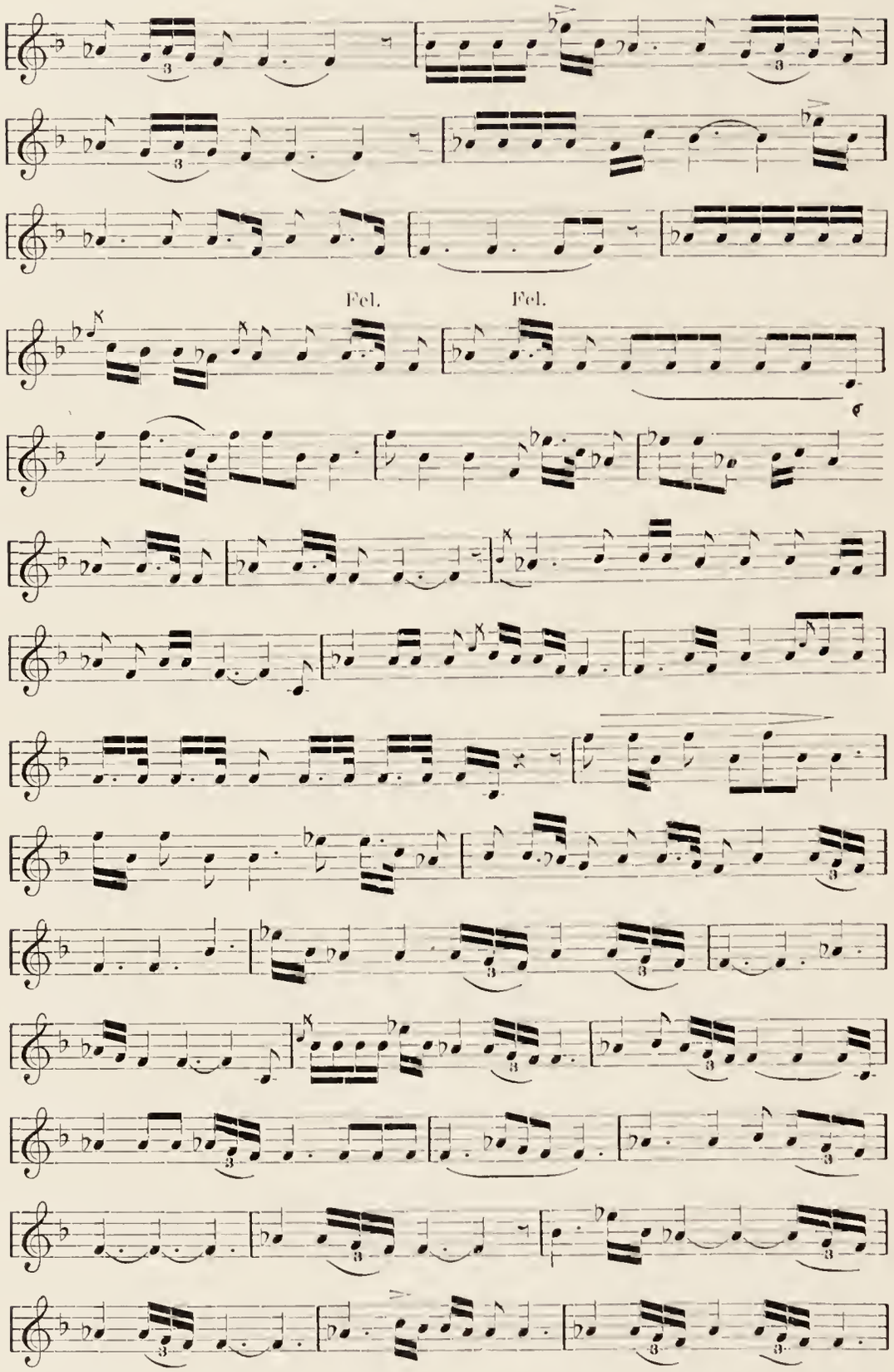


The syllables of this song are for the most part hardly distinguishable. Part is sung to gó hó ha we hī yá we he yä′ gó wa and ya nó hī yä′ with variations of ha ha wé, we haí″ya, we he hā′ a yä′ and slurs and prolonged tremolos on ā, wē, etc.

Shawnee Love Song.

The spirit of the following song is so impulsive that the mere burden syllables are lost sight of. The greater part seems to be a repetition of há yá ya le hé yá, interspersed with yells, falsetto tremolos and slurs. The only actual words that I could get from the text represent such expressions as "last of it," "hurt one's feelings," "a lot of people going home," "Osage," "shaking it off," and again "Yo Osage." The song ends in the scalp yell, known as the "gobble whoop," common among the southern tribes as a sign of victory.

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M. M. ♩ = 96.
Scalp Yell.

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